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EDITORIAL

THIS FIRST OF THE TWO ARTICLES IN THIS NUMBER WHICH ARE BEING PUBlished in English translation from the German originals in the special Anabaptist-Mennonite number of the Basel *Theologische Zeitschrift* (July-August, 1952), by kind permission of the Basel University Theological Faculty and the publisher, attempts to give a definite answer to the question of the true origin of the Anabaptist movement, whether it was in Zurich, or in Zwickau, Saxony. The author believes that sufficient, and indeed overwhelming, evidence is now in, to warrant the conclusion that neither Thomas Müntzer nor the Zwickau prophets were Anabaptists, that neither had anything to do with the later Anabaptist movement, and that the erroneous counter-theory was due chiefly to Melanchthon, and secondarily to Bullinger. The persistence of this false theory through the centuries has been due to the inadequacy of scholarly Anabaptist research and evaluation until recent years. Now there is no longer any excuse for its perpetuation. The Anabaptists had their origin in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1524-25, although their rapid spread throughout all German-speaking areas and the Low countries points to a widespread preparedness for the movement, both in pre-Reformation conditions and in the Reformation itself.

THE SECOND ARTICLE, BY PROFESSOR BLANKE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ZURICH, gives the first full-fledged picture of the very first Anabaptist congregation, that of Zollikon, a suburb of Zurich. Though of short duration, it was a true brotherhood type church, and included a large cross section of the village. By a patient and skillful exploitation of every detail of the documentary record, plus a finely sympathetic interpretation, Professor Blanke has made the Zollikon group come alive again after more than four centuries. It is a splendid example of what the best scholarship can do.

NOTABLE STUDIES OF THE CHURCH MUSIC OF THE OLD ORDER AMISH HAVE BEEN done, but thus far none has been undertaken of the similar music of the large group of Old Colony Mennonites in Chihuahua, Mexico. Charles Burkhart, a young trained musician and musicologist of the Goshen College faculty, who himself spent a year in close contact with the Old Colony group when he carefully observed their musical practices, presents an enlightening comparative study of the church music of the two groups. Both represent, to be sure, an arrested form of older cultural survivals without contemporary creativity. Through their music, however, an avenue of insight and understanding into their group spirit and mentality is opened up.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE MENNONITES OF WELLAND COUNTY, ONTARIO, by J. C. Fretz, historian of the Ontario Mennonite Conference, presents all the information that can now be recovered of the oldest settlement ever made by the Mennonites in Ontario, now long since extinct. It is very little. One might speculate as to the reasons for the failure of the several small congregations once established here in the confident hope of permanence and growth. The economic basis was adequate for the development of a larger Brethren in Christ community; so it cannot have been the cause for the Mennonite failure. Perhaps the number of Mennonite settlers was too small, but more likely the cause for extinction is to be sought in the inadequate quality of the leadership.

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THE ZWICKAU PROPHETS, THOMAS MÜNTZER, AND THE ANABAPTISTS

HAROLD S. BENDER

A perusal of the reference works of today as well as of the general works on church history reveals the surprising fact that there is, in spite of all the scholarly research done in the last several decades on this subject, still no unanimity of opinion regarding the origin and character of the early Anabaptists. This lack may be due in part to the failure of the writers of these articles to acquaint themselves with the results of Anabaptist research; theological and denominational prejudice is also very likely responsible for a share of the misrepresentation. But until recently not even the Anabaptist specialists have been in complete agreement. Now, however, in the light of the most recent investigations in the field, we are in a position to answer the question of the origin of the Anabaptist movement with nearly complete assurance. The reasons are clarified in the following.

The earlier conception is still current, which laid the origin of the Anabaptists in Zwickau (1521) and considered them in the early days to have been merely fanatics, men of the "inner light," equipped with personal divine revelation, fanatical, revolutionary, and dangerous to the state, and which supposed that from there

* Translated from the German in *Theologische Zeitschrift* VIII (July-August, 1952, Basel), 262-78.

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their ideas were carried throughout Germany and beyond, and that the peaceful phase gradually developed from this, especially after the sobering effect of the terrible catastrophe of Münster (1535). We find it in Heussi's *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte* (10th ed., 1949), Qualben's *History of the Christian Church* (1948), *Calwer Kirchenlexikon* (1941), *Der grosse Brockhaus* (1935), *Encylopedia Britannica* (1936), *Kirchliches Handlexikon* (1912), *Wetzer und Weltes Kirchenlexikon* (1893), and in Karl Holl, "Luther und die Schwärmer," *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (1923), to mention only a few. The more recent conception places the origin in Zürich (1525) in the bosom of the Zwinglian Reformation, where the first Anabaptists, zealous adherents of Zwingli, after Zwingli had rejected their demand that he set up the church as a brotherhood of earnest Christians, went about the task of establishing the church as a completely peaceful, holy church built on the New Testament and in no wise fanatical or revolutionary and not at all connected with Zwickau or Thomas Müntzer. This view is found in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1st ed., 1913, Walther Köhler); Troeltsch, *Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (German ed., 1912; Engl. ed., 1936); *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (1913 ff.); Bax, *Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists* (1903); *Schweizer Lexikon* (1948), and others. A third view sees the Anabaptists as a double movement, arising in both Zürich and Zwickau, the revolutionary branch finally dying out and the other developing into a Protestant sect. Herzog-Hauck's *Realencyklopädie* (3d ed., Vol. I, 1893), in an otherwise excellent article on the Anabaptists by G. Uhlhorn, is typical of this view, reading as follows:

> The movement set in at two points; on the one hand in Thuringia and Saxony, on the other in Switzerland. In each of the two regions it bears its own individual character. In Thuringia and Saxony . . . it is fanatical, in Switzerland it is quietistic. . . . The movement in Saxony did not go as far as to rebaptize; to be sure, one finds in the Zwickau prophets and in Müntzer some doubts as to the justification of infant baptism, but they do not yet act on the consequences of these doubts by baptizing adults and gathering a church of baptized members. In accord with its fanatical character the movement at once turns to a revolutionary course and proceeds to overthrow existing conditions . . . with force and set up the . . . covenant of the elect. It is different in Switzerland. . . . There the ideal is the creation of a brotherhood of saints on the pattern of the pentecostal church. . . . With the act of baptism they have set up their own brotherhood. . . . To be sure, these circles considered Müntzer a prophet and tried to establish contacts with him; they did not, however, subordinate themselves to him, but maintained their independence. They were definitely opposed to the dark, revolutionary, violent spirit of Müntzer.

Walther Köhler, who was initially (*RGG*, 1913) and also at the end almost completely of the second opinion (that of the exclusive Zürich origin), in RGG's second edition (1931) presents a variation of the third view in the following words (Vol. V, col. 1915):

> The controversy on the origin of the Anabaptists that has flared up between Karl Holl and Ernst Troeltsch has this solution: Zürich (as in Troeltsch) was the scene of the first Anabaptist congregation and performed the first adult baptism in 1524 (Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock), but the idea of rebaptism and the separation of the brotherhood of the believers from the mass church appeared first in the circles of the Wittenberg fanatics (Karlstadt, Zwilling, Münzer) 1521-22 (as in Holl), with whom the Zürich brotherhood maintained contacts without having been called into existence by them.

The question of the origin of the Anabaptists is not a simple matter of mere geography or even biography. For if it were actually historically true that the Anabaptist movement began in Zwickau, in principle fanatical rather than Biblicistic, revolutionary rather than peaceably constructive, that it was always pregnant with a Thomas Müntzer revolt or a Münsterite kingdom, we would find it necessary to condemn it with Holl.

But in view of the historical facts in Zwickau and Zürich one must ask how the assumption ever arose that the Zwickau prophets or Thomas Müntzer were Anabaptists or that there was an Anabaptist movement in Saxony and Thuringia in 1521-22. There is no longer any doubt but that the baptism performed in Zürich in 1525 was the very first adult baptism in the Reformation period, at least as a baptism upon confession of faith; it was certainly not performed in Wittenberg or by Karlstadt, Storch, or Müntzer. Luther and Melanchthon did not call the Zwickau prophets "Anabaptists" until later, after they had heard of real Anabaptists elsewhere. Before 1525 the word *Wiedertäufer* was not used, and in 1525 first in Zurich. Mühlhausen, the Müntzer city of 1525, which was accused in 1552 by an imperial ambassador of harboring at the time of the Peasants' War the "disgraceful, unspiritual sect of Anabaptism . . . in full swing in the city," assured the envoy that at that time "the sect of the Anabaptists was still unknown."[1] Annemarie Lohmann[2] in her thorough study asserts that adult baptism "actually is counter to Müntzer's basic belief." In September, 1524, on the occasion of his visit to Oecolampadius in Basel, Müntzer related that he was still baptizing newborn infants, and at this time he published a bap-

[1] W. Wiswedel, *Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum*, I (Kassel, 1928), 51.

[2] Annemarie Lohmann, *Zur geistlichen Entwicklung Thomas Müntzers* (Leipzig, 1931), 51.

tismal liturgy for infant baptism, *Von der Taufe, wie man sie heldet.* Nor was Müntzer an Anabaptist on the point of the church of believers and saints, which was even more basically characteristic of the Anabaptists than baptism upon confession of faith. Until the end of his life he was the pastor of a state church congregation, his being the one in Mühlhausen, where he was engaged as preacher of the Marienkirche in the middle of February, 1525. His final goal was to build the kingdom of God upon earth, by force if necessary, not, however, in the form of a separated brotherhood of believers, but in the form of a Christian state, in which the elect of God were to compel the ungodly with the sword. Since rebaptism is necessarily practiced only in connection with a separated brotherhood it cannot be asserted that there was in Zwickau or Mühlhausen any such idea. There is also not one bit of evidence in the court records that adult baptism or a separated brotherhood of believers was at that time practiced or even considered in Saxony or Thuringia.

As late as 1524 Müntzer published several church disciplines (*Ordnung*) quite in agreement with Luther. Nor does he become the originator and leader of an Anabaptist movement through the fact that he preached a mysticism of the cross and then later, partly in express contradiction of his previous peaceful position and stress of the requirements of the Sermon on the Mount, began to confuse radical social and political ideas with religious-chiliastic ideas, and finally for three weeks even took part in the Peasants' War in Thuringia (which he, however, did not instigate). Hence the continued designation of Müntzer as an Anabaptist is historically completely untenable. Müntzer was in no sense an Anabaptist. Whether his ideas influenced the Anabaptist movement which was later to arise in Zürich remains to be examined.

Nor was Nikolaus Storch, who in the winter of 1520-21 with his spiritualistic-taborite ideas, as Lohmann proves, turned Müntzer from his Lutheran course, an Anabaptist. For a time (1520-21) there was in Zwickau, especially among the numerous textile workers (*Tuchknappen*) and the lesser guild masters of the trade guilds a "conventicle" Christianity, which is probably to be ascribed to the influence of Luther's reformatory writings of 1520; however, they were not Anabaptists but evangelical Lutherans. Indeed there were in the 1520's in many places small groups who took Luther's message and writings seriously and began to study the Bible for themselves, thus introducing in practice the general priesthood of all believers. The worship services of these people in Zwickau were, however, conducted by the parson of the Katharinenkirche, viz., Thomas

Müntzer, who was at this time a zealous follower and friend of Martin Luther. After Müntzer had been deposed from this position in 1521, the leadership fell into the hands of laymen, especially Nikolaus Storch, a master cloth cutter, who served until his departure for Wittenberg at the end of December. It has not been proved that Storch really organized his followers into 12 apostles and 72 disciples as is asserted in a contemporary document cited by Seidemann.[3] At any rate the *secta Storchitarum* in Zwickau and later at Hof was not a brotherhood. With his spiritualistic interpretation of the Scriptures and his emphasis on the inner illumination of the spirit, Storch was indifferent to the outward means of grace of the church. He seriously questioned infant baptism, indeed he rejected it, and some of his associates even did not consider baptism necessary to salvation. Storch's "movement" (from April, 1521, to February, 1522, Storch was in Bohemia) degenerated into a strong subjectivism, but died out completely after his departure in December, especially after Luther's four powerful sermons against radicalism in April, 1522. Storch himself led the life of a wanderer, and died in a Munich poorhouse in 1525. The fact that the present unjust judgment of Storch will have to be revised in his favor has nothing to do with his supposed Anabaptism.

The well-known events of December, 1521, in Wittenberg, whither Storch betook himself with Markus Stübner and Thomas Drechsel in order to present his ideas in person to the reformers, need not be rehearsed here. The fact that the "prophets" had a measure of temporary success here, even in their arguments against infant baptism (but not in favor of adult baptism) is not significant. Karlstadt, who had already previously begun a radical reformation and renovation of the worship services, agreed with the "prophets" in their rejection of infant baptism, but never demanded or attempted to introduce adult baptism. Martin Cellarius, who was also won over to the rejection of infant baptism, was persuaded by Luther to change his position, but throughout his life, especially in Strasbourg, where he went in 1525 or 1526, took a friendly attitude toward the true Anabaptists, though of course never joining them. To stamp him and Karlstadt as Anabaptist is completely misleading; both ended their careers as professors at the university of Basel.

Thus the (later so-called) "Anabaptist" movement in Zwickau disappeared, although doubts remained among the populace regarding infant baptism. The fact that later, from 1526 on, real Anabaptists appeared in Saxony and Thuringia does not alter the

[3] J. K. Seidemann, *Thomas Müntzer* (Leipzig, 1842), 109.

facts, for as Wappler points out in his thorough work, *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen von 1526-1584* (Jena, 1913), this movement was brought in from South Germany. As the heading of his presentation Wappler has "Vorgeschichte: Luther und die religiös-soziale Bewegung in Sachsen und Thüringen bis zum Auftreten der Wiedertaufe"; and the first chapter has the title, "Luthers Glaubensstellung und die spiritualistische Opposition gegen sie (Zwickauer Propheten, Karlstadt and Münzer)." It is time that the term "Wiedertäufer" be dropped for the spiritualistic movement of 1521-22, and "Spiritualisten" used in its stead.

To the possible objection against this change in designation that the Zwickau prophets had after all rejected infant baptism two replies can be made: (1) Not the repudiation of infant baptism, but adult baptism or baptism upon confession of faith as the sign of the true church of Christ is the real distinguishing mark of the Anabaptists. (2) Schwenckfeld said in 1531, "If all those are Anabaptists who do not support infant baptism, then there are Anabaptists everywhere."[4] Actually there were many, even among the leading reformers, especially in South Germany and Switzerland, who were at first willing to drop infant baptism, or who were indifferent or wavering with regard to it. Luther himself fought severe inward battles with regard to the nature of the church and baptism. In a letter to Melanchthon in 1522 he wrote on this very point. "I have always expected that the devil would touch this sore point; but he would not do it through the papists. We ourselves are in great conflict concerning it."[5] And in a letter of January 1, 1522, to Spalatin, in which he reported the Zwickau prophets to be preaching that infant baptism is unscriptural, Melanchthon wrote:

> These two ideas are indeed not to be repudiated and will no doubt cause difficulty for people who are far more learned than I, and also for the masses. Well, I expected that the devil would attack us on a weak point.[6]

The weak point of course consists in the fact that the baptism of newborn infants is in conflict with the principle of justification by faith. Such arguments, as that infants could after all believe, or that the godfather could substitute his faith for the absent faith of the child, indicate Luther's distress. Zwingli himself confessed in his *Taufbüchlein* of 1525, "For this error had also misled me some years ago, so that I thought it would be much better to baptize the

[4] Letter to Johann Bader, Sept. 24, 1531, *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum* IV (Leipzig, 1914), 257.
[5] L. Enders, *Dr. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel*, III (1889), 272-77.
[6] *Corpus Reformatorum*, I, 534.

infants only when they came to a good age."[7] Oecolampadius was also for a long time of this opinion,[8] until in 1525 he finally followed Zwingli's position. The wavering attitude of the Strasbourg reformers caused Zwingli a great deal of justifiable concern.[9] Doubts about infant baptism were by no means always a sign of an Anabaptist movement, especially in the first years of the Reformation until 1525, as long as the final position of the reformers was not yet crystallized.

In view of these facts the question must be seriously asked: How did it come about that the short spiritualistic movement in Saxony in 1520-22 and Müntzer's very short ensuing revolutionary movement in 1524-25 were called Anabaptist movements and that Thomas Müntzer was even regarded as the originator and promoter of the entire movement, as has been the case for nearly four centuries? The responsibility for this state of affairs is borne by Luther, Melanchthon, and Menius, for ecclesiastical church historiography has followed them completely on this point. The first mention of the assertion that the beginnings of Anabaptism must be sought in Saxony is found, so far as I can see, in a letter written by Melanchthon in February, 1530, to Friedrich Myconius, in which he says, "Storch and his following, to whom the entire Anabaptist tribe owes its beginning."[10] Note that he also has the Zwinglians originate in Storch: "Thus from one stork have arisen all those factions of Anabaptists and Zwinglians." Luther even, in his foreword to Menius' *Von dem Geist der Wiedertäufer* (1544), connected the origin of the Anabaptists with Karlstadt and Zwingli. It is clear that the historical theory of Luther and Melanchthon rests on mere assumption. In his first work against the Anabaptists, *Von der Wiedertauffe an zwen Pfarherrn, ein Brief* (1528), Luther granted that his information about the Anabaptists was slight. "We here in our prince's lands have not yet anything of the rubbish of such preachers, God be thanked and praised in eternity." And in Melanchthon's first book, written in January, 1528, *Underricht Philip Melanchthon wider die Lere der Widerteuffer,* it is clear that he was not writing from a personal acquaintance with the Anabaptists or with their writings. It is barely possible that the two men in Wittenberg had in their possession the book of Urbanus Rhegius,

[7] *H. Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke,* IV (Leipzig, 1927), 228.

[8] J. Usteri, "Oekolampads Stellung zur Kindertaufe," in *Studien und Kritiken* (1883).

[9] John Horsch, *Infant Baptism, Its Origin Among Protestants* (Scottdale, 1917), contains a great deal of material on the position of reformers on the baptism of infants.

[10] Quoted in P. Wappler, *Die Stellung Kursachsens . . . zur Täuferbewegung* (Münster, 1910), 13.

written in Augsburg in September, 1527, *Wider den Newen Taufforden,* but this says nothing of a Zwickau origin of Anabaptism. Melanchthon's second book, 1535, *Etliche Propositiones wider die Lehr der Widerteuffer,* is a direct attack on the *Restitutio* of Bernhard Rothmann in Münster. From this time on, Münster of course plays a chief role in the polemics of Protestant authors against the Anabaptists. Nevertheless the information of the Wittenberg polemicists concerning the Anabaptists was usually of a secondhand nature, especially in the case of Luther. Walther Köhler wrote, "Apparently Luther does not have an exact acquaintance with Anabaptist writings, as surely as he has 'heard' and 'read' and 'knows' about it."[11]

The earliest writings of Switzerland and South Germany about and against the Anabaptists likewise have nothing to say about a Saxon or Thuringian origin of the Anabaptists in 1521-22. Rhegius' booklet of 1527 has already been mentioned. Zwingli knows nothing of such an origin in his writings of 1525-27. In his first book of 1530, *Von dem Unverschämpten fräfel,* Bullinger knows only that Anabaptism is a revival of the ancient heresies of Novatian, Auxentius, and Pelagius; not until his book of 1560, *Der Widertoufferen Ursprung,* the first chapter of which is titled "Von dem Ursprung des widertoufs, harlangend von Thomas Müntzern und dessen verkehrter ufrürischer leer," does he know of an origin "down there in Saxony in 1521 and 1522" naming Storch and Müntzer. Sebastian Franck's *Chronica* (1531) reports only on South Germany. Nor does Johannes Gast of Basel know anything of a connection of the Swiss and South German Anabaptists with Saxony and Middle Germany in his *De Anabaptismi Exordio* (Basel, 1544). But all the later historiographers are agreed in their construction of history: the Anabaptist movement began with Storch and Müntzer. Thus Arnold Meshovius says in his *Historiae Anabaptisticae* (Cologne, 1617): "In my opinion Nikolaus Pelargus (Storch) . . . were some who were leaders (Karlstadt, Melanchthon, Gerhard Westerburg, Markus Stübner, Gabriel Zwilling, Cellarius, Thomas Müntzer)." Of his "Seven Books" the first is devoted exclusively to Wittenberg and Zwickau. It is interesting to note that Meshovius reckons Melanchthon among the Anabaptist leaders, not without some justification if doubts concerning infant baptism are to be considered a mark of Anabaptism. To mention an author of the following century (almost any other would do as well) we cite Ehre-Gott Daniel

[11] *Mennonitisches Lexikon* II (Weierhof, 1937), 704.

Colberg, professor at the university of Greifswald, whose book was published in Leipzig in 1710, *Das Platonisch-Hermetische Christentum begreifend die historische Erzählung vom Ursprung und vielerlei Sekten der heutigen fanatischen Theologie Unterm Namen der Paracelsisten, Weigelianer, Rosenkreutzer, Quäker, Wiedertäufer, Bourignisten, Labadisten und Quietisten.* Chapter IX deals with the Anabaptists, and Section 2 has the heading, "Ursprung der Wiedertäufer. Claus Storch, Thomas Müntzer, Heinrich Pfeiffer." J. C. Füssli in *Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Kirchen-Reformation des Schweizerlandes,* Vol. I (Zürich, 1741, 109) reflects the position of the historiography of the time in his rejection of the attempt of the Dutch Mennonite historians (especially Schijn) to prove the Waldensian origin of the Anabaptists, saying, "Most historians agree that Anabaptism had its origin from Niclaus Storch and Thomas Müntzer . . . . We will hold with the majority that the Anabaptist sect had its origin from the above restless heads until something else is proved." Füssli knows that Sebastian Franck's *Chronica* (1531) knew nothing of a Saxon origin of Anabaptism but had it arise during and after the Peasants' War of 1524-25 and in the South; but he rejected this theory, especially because Bullinger in his *Reformationsgeschichte* had proved the opposite.

In the nineteenth century Johannes Hast is typical, the very title of his book betraying his position: *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer von ihrer Entstehung zu Zwickau in Sachsen bis auf ihren Sturz zu Münster in Westfalen* (Münster, 1836). Richard Bachmann titled his pamphlet of 1880: *Niclaus Storch, der Anfänger der Zwickauer Wiedertäufer.* Examples could be taken at random to illustrate the continued prevalence of this theory in the nineteenth century and later. C. A. Cornelius with his thorough work, *Geschichte des Münsterischen Aufruhrs,* Vol. II: *Die Wiedertaufe* (Leipzig, 1860), finally abolished it and placed the real origin in Zurich. Many important research scholars have followed him.

Under the designation "Anabaptist" the enemies of the Anabaptists of 1525 sought to include all who stood in opposition to the main line of the Reformation on whatever ground, i.e., the entire "left wing." After the Münsterite affair of 1535 the Evangelical leaders were convinced that the Anabaptist movement was fanatical-revolutionary in essence, and was accordingly a threat to the existing socio-political order for both state and church. One cannot do justice to their attitude toward the Anabaptists without recognizing this fact. Roland Bainton's newest Luther biography makes this very clear.

Luther construed mere abstention from public office and military service as sedition. Melanchthon this time argued that even the passive action of the Anabaptists in rejecting government, oaths, private property, and marriages outside of the faith was itself disruptive of the civil order and therefore seditious. The Anabaptist protest against the punishment of blasphemy was itself blasphemy. The discontinuance of infant baptism would produce a heathen society and separation from the Church, and the formation of sects was an offense against God.[12]

Luther and Melanchthon always saw even in the peaceful Anabaptists the hidden revolutionaries, who would at an appropriate time break out in direct rebellion. To them Anabaptists were either already communistic or were awaiting only the convenient moment when they could introduce communism and establish their dictatorial state. In their fear the reformers were ready to believe everything, even the most shameful crimes. The simple, upright, and pure life of the Anabaptists was only hypocrisy. One might perhaps suppose that they had the Holy Spirit, but actually it was the devil.

These were received by the elders of the Anabaptists into their church through and by rebaptism as a sign of separation unto repentance and reforming of life. And they all led a life of apparently altogether spiritual conduct, condemning covetousness, pride, swearing, evil speech, and the vices of the world, excessive drinking and gluttony, and they spoke much about killing the old man, etc. In short their hypocrisy was great and manifold.[13]

The reformed preachers of the Canton of Bern addressed a letter to the Bernese Council in 1532, in which they said:

Since the Anabaptists manifest an apparent external piety much more than we in all the churches who claim the name of Christ Jesus, and separate themselves from offensive vices which are so common among us . . .[14]

In 1531 Bullinger called the Anabaptists "the devilish enemies and the destroyers of the church of God."[15] But in 1527 Zwingli could say of them, "If one should investigate the life and conduct of Anabaptists, the first impression would be that it was blameless, godly and full of love to the people, yea out of this world. Even the critics would testify that their conduct was decent."[16]

The reformers really had considerable difficulty within themselves regarding the Anabaptists, and were clearly, because of their prejudice, no longer able to do justice to them. In the second edition (1535) of his *Propositiones* of 1528 Melanchthon added an important comment in asserting that there was no value in attempting to distinguish the good from the bad Anabaptists. It was not neces-

[12] Roland Bainton, *Here I Stand* (New York, 1950), 376-77.
[13] H. Bullinger, *Der Widertöufferen Ursprung* (Zurich, 1560), folio 15v.
[14] Cited in W. J. McGlothlin, *Die Berner Täufer bis 1532* (Berlin, 1902), 36.
[15] H. Bullinger, *Von dem unverschampten fräfel* (Zurich, 1531).
[16] *H. Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*, VI (Leipzig,), 24-25.

sary to say that the Anabaptists were not always as bad as Münster, for the devil had perverted them all, and one devil was no more pious than any other devil. Therefore all Anabaptists were alike, only they did not all have the same good opportunity as the Münsterites to start a revolution. And in his *Verlegung etlicher unchristlicher Artikel, welche die Wiedertäufer vorgeben* (1536) he strengthens this judgment further by characterizing all Anabaptists as of the devil and against God; Münster is only one case of what the Anabaptists always will turn into.

In the sixteenth century the word "Anabaptists" denoted simply the enemies of the truth, opponents of God and His cause, the greatest threat to the existing order, the state, and Christendom. They were considered to be a devilish sect of satanic origin to be mercilessly eradicated. This was the advice of Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, and others to their princes and city councils, and this was the procedure actually followed. (Philip of Hesse was a notable exception.) The representatives of the church, and the theologians and historians of later times, apparently simply copied these concepts and if possible strengthened them, without considering the sources or the Anabaptists themselves. Nikolaus Storch and Thomas Müntzer were the first to attack the Protestant cause from within, and they rejected infant baptism; ergo, they must have begun the Anabaptist movement. No evidence of factual connections with the later real Anabaptists was needed.

This common conception was strongly supported by Heinrich Bullinger, who was considered authoritative and who invented a direct connection between Münster and the first Anabaptists in Zürich. He claimed that Anabaptism began "down there in Saxony" in 1521-22, and that the Zürich Anabaptists imbibed their Anabaptism "from Müntzer." Grebel, Manz, and other "restless heads" had not only read Müntzer's writings, but had also called on him personally while he was staying in Griessen not far from Waldshut in late 1524. All of this Bullinger wrote in 1560 (*Der Widertöufferen Ursprung*) and in 1572 (*Reformationsgeschichte*) as facts, but without any proofs or sources. (Others said the same of Hubmaier, viz., that he had visited Müntzer and received his Anabaptism from him, but without giving proof.) Actually the only possible connection between the Zürich Brethren and Müntzer would have been Hans Huiuf, cosignatory of the appendix of the September 1524 letter to Müntzer (by Conrad Grebel and associates), who had just (since the writing of the body of the letter) returned from Halle, "who was with you [Müntzer] recently."

The statements by Bullinger I have carefully investigated in my book on Conrad Grebel[17] and am convinced that we have here to do with a pure invention. Bullinger arrived at his construction of history late and only gradually; only in the *Reformationsgeschichte* (1572) does he report on the visit of the Zürich Brethren with Müntzer in Griessen. Jakob Berchthold, in his book, *Das Zwinglibild und die Zürcherischen Reformationschroniken* (1929), explains how this came about. He shows that Bullinger was not an objective, scholarly historian, but the protector of the fair name of the Zürich church and of the city itself, and was anxious to remove the smirch of responsibility for the accursed Anabaptist sect. In the section "Tendenzen in Bullingers Geschichtsschreibung" Berchthold states Bullinger's position thus: "Bullinger's basic position is this: the good has developed in my own country of Switzerland: the evil has come into the canton of Zürich from the outside, thus Anabaptism, and thus the peasant unrest."[18]

Another alleged proof of the dependence of the Swiss Brethren on Müntzer is the letter of September 4, 1524, which Conrad Grebel and his associates wrote to "the true and faithful proclaimer of the Gospel, Thomas Müntzer at Alstett on the Harz, our faithful and beloved brother in Christ." But a careful reading of the letter makes it clear that the Zürich Anabaptists were, on the contrary, quite independent of Müntzer, that they freely criticized and admonished him, and that they repudiated him precisely on those points on which he differed from them. The letter indicates that they had only recently become acquainted with Müntzer, and only by means of the five pamphlets which he published in 1523 and 1524—pamphlets that are above criticism with respect to revolution, etc.—that they had already previously established their position, that on essential points such as the use of violence and the founding of all ceremonies and principles solely on the Scripture their ways parted. The letter offers no support for the theory that the Zürich Anabaptists were dependent upon Müntzer. Furthermore, the letter never reached Müntzer, for it was incorrectly addressed (Müntzer was no longer in Alstett). The original is now in the *Vadianische Briefsammlung* in St. Gall; no copy was made, as Grebel expressly says in the letter.

Finally a comparison of the ideological and theological position of Müntzer with that of the Swiss Brethren reveals valid reasons for differentiating so sharply between the two movements that the

[17] H. S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel* (Goshen, 1950), 112-16.

[18] *Ibid.*, 235, note 31.

leading ideas cannot be assumed to have been transmitted from the one to the other. Note the following points.

1. The Swiss Brethren were a "church of radical Bible readers" (Cornelius), Biblicists (W. Köhler), quite different from persons who like Storch and Müntzer lived from direct Spirit-given revelations. On this very point they sharply attack Müntzer.

Therefore we beg and admonish thee as a brother by the name, the power, the word, the spirit, and the salvation, which has come to all Christians through Jesus Christ our Master and Savior, that thou wilt take earnest heed to preach only the divine word without fear, to set up and guard only divine institutions, to esteem as good and right only what may be found in pure and clear Scripture, to reject, hate, and curse all devices, words, customs, and opinions of men, including thine own. . . . Go forward with the word and establish a Christian church with the help of Christ and his rule. . . . There is more than enough of wisdom and counsel in the Scripture, how all classes and all men may be taught, governed, instructed, and turned to piety. . . . Once more we admonish thee, . . . do not act, teach, or establish anything according to human opinion, your own or that of others, and abolish again what has been so established; but establish and teach only the clear word and practices of God, with the rule of Christ.[19]

The author of such lines is not a mystic or spiritualist.

2. The Swiss Brethren were pacifists in the sense of the Sermon on the Mount, standing for absolute nonresistance and rejecting all use of force.

The brother of Huiuf writes that thou hast preached against the princes, that they are to be attacked with the fist. Is it true? If thou art willing to defend war, the tablets, singing, or other things which thou doest not find in express words of Scripture . . . . Moreover, the gospel and its adherents are not to be protected by the sword, nor are they thus to protect themselves, which, as we learn from our brother, is thy opinion and practice. True Christian believers are sheep among wolves, sheep for the slaughter; they must be baptized in anguish and affliction, tribulation, persecution, suffering, and death; they must be tried with fire, and must reach the land of eternal rest, not by killing their bodily, but by mortifying their spiritual, enemies. Neither do they use worldly sword or war, since all killing has ceased with them; unless, indeed, we were still of the old law; and even there (much as we consider it) war was a misfortune.[20]

Is it possible that a Conrad Grebel who writes thus could have imbibed his Anabaptism from a Müntzer who had taken the red cross and the naked sword as his symbols (symbols which were to indicate that the elect had the right and the duty to exterminate the ungodly) and who demanded that the ideal of a new and perfect church must be achieved by violence on the part of the laity if the government should fail at this task?

[19] H. Boehmer-P. Kirn, *Thomas Müntzers Briefwechsel* (Leipzig, 1931), 93, 96, 97, 100-01. Translated by W. Rauschenbusch in *Amer. Journal of Theology* IX (1905), 91-95, from which the quotations cited in notes 19 and 20 are taken.

[20] *Ibid.*, 100, 97.

The very formulation of the question suffices to give the answer. In the solution of social questions Müntzer favored the application of force, whereas the Swiss Brethren, following the apostolic pattern, would relieve the misery of the poor by voluntary aid. The Swiss Brethren, although granting the state its right of existence as an institution of God, would not occupy a governmental office; Müntzer, on the other hand, mixed politics with religion and sought to realize the kingdom of God in a Christian state on earth.

The mere comparison of the principles of the early Anabaptists with those of Thomas Müntzer shows that the former are not at all dependent on the latter. We grant that later a Hubmaier was ready to march against the Turks with the sword, that a Hans Denk can be found among the spiritualists of the Inner Word, that a Jacob Hutter inaugurated community of goods among the Anabaptist Brethren in Moravia, that a Jan van Leyden set up an earthly kingdom in Münster and defended it with the sword, that individual Anabaptists here and there boasted of visions. But these were later developments and had nothing to do with Storch and Müntzer.

We know also that some who were under the spell of Müntzer, later became Anabaptists, that, e.g., a Hans Hut, who as an itinerant book dealer participated in the distribution of Müntzer's writings (but also of the Wittenberg writings) and was in Frankenhausen with his books, later, in 1526-27, united with the Anabaptists as an apostle of the peaceful faith and accomplished much for the movement. Also a Melchior Rinck, a former Lutheran preacher, who had even taken part in the battle of Frankenhausen, played an important role as a zealous Anabaptist apostle in Middle Germany in 1527 and later. Certainly there were others who had been swept away by the Peasants' War and by the Müntzer movement, as well as by the Münster kingdom of 1534-35, and who were later won for the Anabaptist movement. Whether as Anabaptist apostles or as simple Brethren it is possible that they did not all at once and completely cast off all Müntzerian ideas. But the Swiss-German Anabaptist movement, as well as the Moravian and Dutch, led by such men as Conrad Grebel, Michael Sattler, Pilgram Marpeck, Jakob Hutter, Peter Riedemann, Menno Simons, and Dirk Philips, which in spite of interminable persecution survived the sixteenth century and lives on today in world Mennonitism with its more than 400,000 souls, and which in 1952 held its fifth world conference, was born in the heart of the Swiss Reformation and belongs, even though as a "left wing," to the great mainline Protestant movement and to no other.

THE FIRST ANABAPTIST CONGREGATION: ZOLLIKON, 1525*

FRITZ BLANKE

On Sunday, January 22, 1525, Hans Oggenfuss, a tailor of Stadelhofen, near Zürich, is leaving Zürich on a matter relating to his trade.[1] Wilhelm Röubli, the pastor of Witikon, a village situated in the mountains above Zürich, has ordered a garment made, and Oggenfuss is now delivering the finished robe. There is no time to waste, for yesterday (January 21) the Zürich city council sentenced Röubli to exile because he is one of the leading opponents of infant baptism. He must leave the canton within a week.[2] The tailor is, of course, trying to finish the business within that time.

On the way Oggenfuss witnesses a peculiar incident. At the village fountain in Hirslanden he meets two men whom he recognizes. Both live in Zollikon. One of them is a cobbler and has the family name that indicates this trade, viz., Fridli Schumacher.[3] The other is Johannes Brötli,[4] a former Catholic priest, who had at first been a follower of Zwingli, who has been living in Zollikon without his (*Pfründe*) parish since 1523, and since the summer of 1524 has, in contrast to Zwingli, been opposing the baptismal practice of the church. Brötli with his wife and child lives in Fridli Schumacher's house in Zollikon.

At the fountain these two men stop, and Schumacher says to Brötli, "Well, Hans, you have taught me the truth. For that I thank you and request the sign."

Evidently Schumacher has been instructed by his renter Brötli regarding the rite of baptism and has accepted the instruction. Now he would like to take the next step, i.e., to convert theory into practice. Therefore, in spite of the fact that he has of course been bap-

* Translated from the German in *Theologische Zeitschrift* VIII (Basel, July-August, 1952), 241-62.

1 My work is based on the court records of the trials found in the Zürich state archives, which were for the first time published in complete and critically corrected form by Leonhard von Muralt and Walter Schmid in the work, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz,* Vol. I, *Zürich* (Zürich, 1952, 428 pp.). I rely in particular on the documents numbered by von Muralt and Schmid as 29, 30, 31, 32, and 33. In the following notes, "No." always refers to this collection of source materials. The scene with Oggenfuss according to No. 31.

2 No. 26. Brötli, Haetzer, and Castelberger were expelled with him.

3 Alexander Nüesch and Heinrich Bruppacher: *Das alte Zollikon* (Zürich, 1899), 74.

4 Nüesch and Bruppacher, *op. cit.,* p. 505. In No. 29 and No. 31 Brötli is called "the old helper," i.e, the former helper (parson). Brötli had been pastor in Quarten am Walensee (Switzerland) before he moved to Zollikon.

tized as an infant, he now desires to have the baptismal sign repeated. Brötli does not hesitate and by sprinkling him with water from the fountain he performs the rite of baptism on Schumacher.

This incident was the occasion of the first adult (re)baptism performed on a citizen of Zollikon. It presupposes that Brötli, the baptizer, had previously been baptized. This must very likely have taken place on the previous evening. It may be assumed that the leading opponents of infant baptism—Grebel, Blaurock, Manz, and Brötli—baptized one another during the evening or night of January 21 (Saturday).[5] I suppose that Brötli, after this first adult baptism, hurried back from Zurich, where it presumably occurred, to Zollikon, and there related to his landlord an account of this important event. Thereupon the wish may have arisen in Schumacher to be likewise rebaptized.

The question arises: Why did not this baptism take place in Schumacher's house where both were living, but was instead transferred to the fountain at Hirslanden? The reason may have been caution. It may have seemed wiser to Brötli, the leader of the Anabaptists of Zollikon, that this first baptism to be performed on one of his Zollikon followers take place outside that town.

The striking feature of this scene is its apostolic simplicity. It is hardly possible to imagine a sharper contrast than that between this baptism at the fountain of Hirslanden and baptism as performed at that time in the churches of the city and canton of Zürich. Because the city council feared any liturgical innovations, there had been no change made in the old practice; Zwingli and the Zwinglian preachers were still baptizing infants in accordance with ancient Catholic usage, viz., breathing on them, exorcising devils, making the sign of the cross, wetting with saliva, and anointing with oil.[6] But here in Hirslanden all of this byplay is missing, as it had also been absent in the baptism of the early church.

Equally as important to these originators of the Anabaptist movement as the renewal of baptism was the reformation of the Lord's Supper. Already on Sunday, January 22, 1525 (or on Monday, January 23),[7] we see Conrad Grebel in the home of

[5] Cf. F. Blanke, "Ort und Zeit der ersten Wiedertaufe," in *Theologische Zeitschrift* VIII (1952), 74-76.

[6] Leo Jud's baptismal liturgy, which was introduced in Zürich in 1523, still contains all of these Catholic elements (*Kritische Zwingli-Ausgabe,* IV, 710-13). Not until the spring of 1525 was a truly evangelical baptismal liturgy drafted by Zwingli adopted (*Ibid.,* IV, 334-36).

[7] These dates are not quite certain. It is clear that Grebel did not conduct this communion service until after he had been baptized, i.e., after Jan. 21, 1525. Oggenfuss says during his trial that this communion service had taken place two weeks previously. Be-

Jakob Hottinger in Zollikon conducting a communion service. Similar celebrations take place throughout the week in various homes, sometimes in connection with baptism, sometimes in simple communion services. The procedure is the most simple imaginable. By way of introduction the New Testament account of the institution of the Lord's Supper is read; then there is a brief discussion of the meaning of the ceremony, followed by the partaking of the bread and wine.[8]

It must be repeated that the difference between this communion service in Zollikon and the ceremony as practiced in January, 1525, by Zwingli and his fellow pastors cannot be bridged. On the altar of the Zurich Grossmunster, in the Zollikon church,[9] and in all the other Zurich churches are the monstrance and host; before it stands the parson in his robe celebrating the Roman mass (with the exception of the sacrifice) in Latin,[10] and presenting to his congregation the communion bread (wafer) but not the wine.[11] But here in the peasant living rooms in Zollikon laymen are breaking ordinary bread and distributing it with wine to all the participants. In the history of the Lord's Supper it is a revolution, but, as I believe, a necessary and wholesome one.

As to the meaning attached to these new communion services in Zollikon there is precise information in the court records of the trials of the Anabaptists. Oggenfuss testifies that communion was observed in Jakob Hottinger's house from the point of view "that they would now henceforth lead and live a Christian life."[12] Participation in the Lord's Supper thus included the obligation to a Christian manner of life. Jörg Schad testifies that they broke and ate the bread with the intention that "they would always have God in their hearts and think of Him."[13] The Lord's Supper was thus an obligation of love to God.

But still more frequent in this first week is a third interpre-

tween Jan. 30 and Feb. 7 Oggenfuss was examined as witness. If we count back two weeks from Feb. 7, we arrive at Jan. 25. Between Jan. 22 (Sunday) and Jan. 25 Grebel must have conducted the communion service, presumably early in the week beginning Jan 22. H. S. Bender in his book, *Conrad Grebel* (Goshen, 1950), 139, also assumes that this communion mentioned by Oggenfuss was the first held in the new Anabaptist congregation.

8 No. 29, 31, 32.

9 No. 29 (pp. 37-8).

10 In *De canone missae epichiresis* (August, 1523) Zwingli expressly sanctioned the use of altar robes and the Latin language in the communion service (*Krit. Zw.-Ausg.*, II, 600 f.).

11 *Kritische Zwingli-Ausgabe,* IV, 4.

12 No. 31 (p. 42).

13 No. 31 (p. 41).

tation of the Lord's Supper. It is described as "a bread of love and Christian spirit,"[14] as "a sign of brotherly love and peace,"[15] as an occasion "to show brotherly love to everyone."[16] Thus the communal eating of the bread and drinking of the wine symbolizes mutual fraternal union; communion is the meal of community and love, with obvious reference to I Corinthians 10:17.

We feel that in these meetings to observe the Lord's Supper with their puritanical solemnity the real heart of the new brotherhood is beating. Here they feel that they form a *communio sanctorum,* united by common bonds and in love to God and their fellows.

The question arises: Why did not Zwingli at that time also introduce a similarly purified communion service? The force that prevented this step was the Zürich city council, to which Zwingli was submissive.[17] Thus the Anabaptists—the first forerunners of a free church—preceded him, by boldly acting over the head of state churchism and organizing their congregation without benefit of government sponsorship.

It has already been mentioned that Röubli, as also Haetzer, Castelberger, and Brötli, were expelled; they had to promise under oath to leave the canton of Zürich within a week from January 21.

Ruedi Thomann, an elderly peasant belonging to a prominent Zollikon family, was unwilling to let this week of grace pass without having in his home two of the expellees with whom he was obviously spiritually kin.[18] He therefore invites Röubli and Brötli to a farewell dinner, which takes place Wednesday evening, January 25, 1525, in Ruedi Thomann's home in Gstad, a section of Zollikon (today 23-25 Gstad Street). In addition to the two theologians and the host, there is also Marx Bosshart, Thomann's son-in-law, who lives with Thomann. While these four are eating, Manz and Blaurock enter the room. Ruedi Thomann is not yet acquainted with them. Then why do they come here on this evening? Not on his account, but because in his home a forbidden religious meeting is to take place. It is not known whether the meeting was called by Thomann or by Brötli and Röubli. At any rate, Ruedi Thomann placed his living room at their disposal.

[14] Statement by Hans Bruggbach, No. 31.

[15] Statement by Konrad Hottinger, No. 31.

[16] Statement by Jörg Schad, No. 31.

[17] A really new evangelical communion liturgy was not introduced in Zürich until Easter, 1525 (*Krit. Zw.-Ausg.,* IV, 1-24).

[18] The following account of the meeting with Ruedi Thomann is based on statements made by the participants in Nos. 29, 31, and 32.

After the meal three other visitors arrive: Heinrich Thomann, an elderly man of one of the best-known Zollikon families, and Hans Bruggbach of Zumikon, a village adjoining Zollikon. Nine men—five peasants, three theologians, and a man schooled in secular knowledge (Manz)—are seated at a table in Bible study. They read passages from the New Testament. What are they reading and discussing? They are obviously considering the state of the human soul lost in sin and that according to the Scriptures only those can be saved who repent and are baptized. For suddenly Hans Bruggbach arises. He mourns his sins, indeed he "wept and cried that he was a great sinner." He begs his companions to pray to God for him and wants them to impart to him the sign of baptism. This violent outburst of confession of sin can be explained only on the ground that on this evening—doubtless in an evangelistic tone—guilt and conversion were discussed. Bruggbach's request for baptism is fulfilled. The baptismal ceremony is simple but not without form. The baptism was rather imbedded in a brief liturgy spoken alternately by Blaurock and Manz. Blaurock first asks Bruggbach whether he desires baptism (Blaurock says "grace"). Bruggbach answers affirmatively. Then Manz quotes from the related passage in Acts (10:47): "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized?" Blaurock replies, "No one." Now Manz seizes a metal ladle with a handle (Gätzi), such as was used in the kitchens at that time, and pours water from it on the head of the baptismal candidate, saying, "I baptize you in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost."

The first baptism at this meeting is followed by the second. Jacob Hottinger, who has in the last few weeks shown himself to be an ardent follower of Manz and Grebel, arises and likewise lets Manz baptize him. These baptisms must certainly have been the principal purpose of the meeting. It is not a meeting for edification in the usual sense of the word, but an evangelistic meeting, which is to lead the attendants to repentance and baptism.

The evening is concluded with the Lord's Supper. Blaurock points to the bread and wine on the table, breaks the bread into small pieces. Before distributing the elements he gives a short talk, parts of which have been preserved. Blaurock said (according to Ruedi Thomann's trial testimony): "He who believes that God has redeemed him with His death and rose-colored blood, let him come and eat with me of the bread and drink with me of this wine."

The Lord's Supper is thus according to these words the celebration of those who know that they are saved.

The meeting at the home of Ruedi Thomann was a Bible discussion, evangelistic service, and an observance of ceremonies; but it was also certainly a means of gaining new members for the newly arising Anabaptist brotherhood. With respect to this last purpose the meeting is not a striking success. Two of those present are baptized and admitted into the congregation. But the others? Manz, Blaurock, Röubli, and Brötli have already—on January 21—received baptism. Thus there are three attendants at this meeting who cannot make up their minds to be baptized: Ruedi Thomann, Heinrich Thomann, and Marx Bosshart. Of Heinrich Thomann we know that he was repelled by the meeting that was intended by its instigators to attract him. The sight of the baptismal act made him, as he said, break out with sweat; if he had been required to take part, he would have run out the door. It is the sweat of fear that exudes from the old man's pores. No wonder! What he saw, he, as an evidently conservative person, must have considered blasphemous. A simple man in a peasant living room breaks ordinary bread and distributes it with the wine! And now a layman is performing holy baptism, in new, unusual forms, and to adults who have already been baptized!

Heinrich Thomann is, however, the only person in this meeting of January 25 to feel uncomfortable. Likely he has no inner connections with this group; perhaps he had joined this pious group in mere curiosity. His brother Ruedi is sympathetic to the Anabaptist movement, else he would not have invited Röubli and Brötli to his home. Marx Bosshart is also stirred by the new movement. To be sure, Bosshart has on this evening not been able to make up his mind to be baptized, but what he has just witnessed continues to stir him. After the visitors have left—only Blaurock and Manz remain with Thomann for the night—Marx withdraws to his room. But he cannot sleep. Even at night he remains restless; he knows no way out but to ask God to give him the right understanding. Toward morning the right understanding breaks upon him with convincing force. Now he knows that he must be baptized. On Thursday, January 26, he gets up early and wakens his father-in-law and Manz and Blaurock. The young peasant and Blaurock engage in a pastoral conversation, the main content of which has been handed down by Ruedi Thomann who hears and sees what takes place. Blaurock remarks to Marx, "You have hitherto been a carefree man," and then admonishes him (on the basis of Ephe-

sians 4:22-24) to lay aside the old Adam, put on the new, and repent. Bosshart is willing to do so. The candidate's repentance, the most important condition for baptism, having then been ascertained, Marx Bosshart is baptized by Blaurock. Bosshart is found later in the year as a traveling preacher in the Zürich Oberland.

Now it is Ruedi Thomann's turn. Until now he has hesitated, but now Blaurock urges him, "You are an old man and near death; you too must repent and seek baptism!" Ruedi consents, and Blaurock can make him a part of the new congregation. Thereby the circle is closed. Of the attendants at the meeting of January 25, all with the exception of Heinrich Thomann, the outsider, have received baptism. But a man like Blaurock is not yet satisfied. Does not the Book of Acts (16:33) record that the guard of the prison at Philippi was baptized with his family? And should not a community like this one of the Anabaptists which seeks to renew the primitive Christian pattern, also act accordingly? This is Blaurock's idea, and he now urges Ruedi Thomann to have his family and hired hands baptized. Thomann agrees, and thus the peasant farm in Gstad on this January morning witnesses a group baptism patterned on apostolic practice.

Two days later, on January 27, 1525, likewise in Gstad, but this time in the home of Hans Murer (now Bahnhofstrasse 3), another meeting is arranged.[19] Brötli, who is about to leave the canton, is the leader. Of the participants, we know the names of Heinrich Thomann, Lienhard Bleuler, Konrad Hottinger, and Hans Bruggbach's son of Zumikon. Brötli experiences the pleasure of hearing the last three request baptism, and he complies at once by pouring water on them. Heinrich Thomann remains unmovable. He later said that at the sight of Brötli performing these three baptisms "his hair stood on end."[20]

Another meeting is known to have been held in the home of Felix Kienast (now Rütistrasse 43), where Felix Manz baptized the peasant Jörg Schad and others, but it can no longer be determined on what day between January 22 and January 29 it took place.[21] Obviously there are daily meetings, usually in the evening.[22] Most of the baptisms are performed by Brötli, but some, as has been seen, by Blaurock and Manz. Rudolf Hottinger confesses that he

19 Statements by Heinrich Thomann in No. 29 and by Konrad Hottinger in No. 31.

20 No. 29.

21 Statement by Jörg Schad in No. 31.

22 Hans Thomann testified, e.g., that he had seen people coming to and leaving the meeting with torches (No. 29).

baptized a young woman who requested it with tears.[23] As far as is known, Conrad Grebel, having gone to Schaffhausen early in the week, baptized no one in Zollikon.

On the morning of Sunday, January 29, the churchgoers experience an uncomfortable disturbance.[24] They have assembled in the village church to worship. Their pastor, Niklaus Billeter, is just about to enter the pulpit, when a man in the audience arises and blocks his path. His black hair, bald spot, and blue clothing[25] indicate that the disturber is Jörg Cajakob, known as Blaurock. An excited conversation takes place between the two in view of the entire congregation. Blaurock asks—a rhetorical question—the pastor what he wants to do. Billeter, as a good Zwinglian, replies, "I am going to preach the Word of God." Blaurock counters, "Not you, but I have been called (sent) to preach."[26] Billeter replies that *he* has been sent, i.e., by his superiors, the canons of the Grossmünster, who have for many years appointed the clergyman for Zollikon.

Not satisfied with this answer, Blaurock talks on. Meanwhile Billeter has entered the pulpit and begun to preach. But Blaurock continues to disturb, and Billeter therefore breaks off his sermon, descends from the pulpit, and turns to the door. Certainly not in order to make room in the pulpit for this disturber of the peace, but in order to put an end to the tumult. But Billeter does so without reckoning with his congregation. Some of the attendants, dissatisfied with his withdrawal, call to him to remain. Now Billeter ascends the second time and continues his sermon. He warns the congregation of disturbance and asks that if anyone wishes to point out errors to him he should do so in the parsonage in privacy, but not here in the church. Surely a reasonable request. Blaurock feels that he is meant and interrupts the pastor anew. He calls out to him the words from the account of the cleansing of the temple: "It is written, My house shall be a house of prayer. But you have made it a den of thieves." Blaurock is carrying his rod, and he releases the inner passion with which he utters these words by three or four blows upon a board during his speech. But this is enough. The assistant magistrate, Wüest, who is present in the church, arises and threatens the disturber of the peace with imprisonment if he does

[23] No. 33.

[24] No. 29.

[25] No. 109.

[26] Cf. Jeremiah 28:15, "Then said the prophet Jeremiah unto Hananiah the prophet, Hear now, Hananiah; The Lord hath not sent thee; but thou makest this people to trust in a lie."

not immediately desist. Blaurock is now quiet and the incident is closed.

What was Blaurock's intention? He wanted to accomplish in Zollikon what he accomplished nine months later in Hinwil in the Zürich Oberland. On October 8, 1525, the congregation of Hinwil went to church for a usual service and was waiting for the pastor. But before he (Hans Brennwald) appeared, i.e., before the service began, Jörg Blaurock entered the pulpit and began to preach, introducing his act with the words, "Whose is this place? If it is the house of God where God's Word is to be preached, I am here as an emissary of the Father to proclaim God's Word."[27] This was a usurpation of the pulpit! Brennwald arrives too late, is unable to eject the intruder, and has to call upon the magistrate for aid. Doubtless Blaurock also wanted to take the pulpit in Zollikon, but he was unsuccessful because the pastor was already present. His reason for wanting the pulpit seems clear to me. To a hot-headed person like Blaurock the spread of the Anabaptist movement was too slow; he wanted to try if possible to convert the populace with a single stroke by preaching from the pulpit. His authorization to do so he found in his extraordinarily strong sense of vocation; he felt himself to be commissioned like a prophet to proclaim God's Word and cleanse His temple. But the trial of strength in Zollikon failed; Blaurock was unable to convey his message to the people. On the contrary, by his violence he sowed the seed for the decline of the Anabaptist congregation in Zollikon. For the state authorities now felt it necessary to intervene. On Monday, January 30, 1525, police appeared in Zollikon and arrested Blaurock, Manz, and all those who had been baptized during the preceding week.[28]

Therewith the eight days of the springtime of the Anabaptist congregation in Zollikon are over, i.e., the days of the first undisturbed development. Now begins the time of government oppression, of fines, and of imprisonment. It is followed in the summer of 1525 by the inner and outer dissolution of the Anabaptist congregation.

Having followed the course of events in Zollikon between January 22 and 29, 1525, it is now necessary to draw a cross-section and evaluate it on the points of piety, theology, and sociology.

A suitable heading descriptive of the inner events of this week might be "Revival Movement." This is generally understood to be a sudden religious awakening, in which not only a few individuals,

[27] No. 109.
[28] No. 29.

but a large number are powerfully seized by a personal Christian conviction of repentance, culminating in the joy of salvation. That is what happened in Zollikon. The steps in this repentance are clearly recognizable in the court records of the trials.[29] It begins with the awakening of the individual conscience and its distress because of its sinfulness. The next step is the prayer to God for a full realization of sin. This is followed by the attainment of this realization. Guilt and sin are uncovered.

The depth of this sin-consciousness is striking. Konrad Hottinger understands that he is a great sinner and that no sinner can be saved. Hans Bruggbach makes a similar statement. Jörg Schad realizes that all his days he has been walking in vices and in sins. By this expression he certainly does not mean any obvious sinful acts. But these men, who have hitherto lived as upright members of the church and society, are now aware that their entire past cannot stand before God's perfect judgment and that they are damned by original sin. It is the idea of sin current in the Reformation that faces us here, and indeed not as an abstract theory, but as a personal experience.

The force of this experience is emphasized by the fact that it is borne by strong feeling. These peasants, certainly accustomed to concealing their emotions, break out in loud weeping and lamenting.

The path of conversion in Zollikon, however, has two additional stages. From the depth of distress for sin arises the cry for salvation, for "washing away and forgiveness of sin," for "God's grace." But these seekers of help are aware that they may expect God's pardon only if they are willing henceforth to abstain from sin. Jörg Schad confesses that he has acknowledged his sin through God's mercy, and that then God promised him that "if he would desist from sin," He would forgive.

Forgiveness is experienced in baptism. Baptism concludes the "struggle of repentance" (*Busskampf*) and brings release from the oppressive burden of sin, for it is the visible sign that God has pardoned the sinner. Blaurock asks the men in Ruedi Thomann's house whether they desire God's grace. Upon their affirmative answer he baptizes them. Baptism is the symbol of grace.

But it has still another meaning. Rudolf Breittiner, shaken to tears by his burden of sin, declares to Brötli that "he will henceforth abstain from all his sins." Thus Breittiner is willing to say no to sin

[29] From Nos. 29, 31, 32.

from now on, but in order to carry out this intention baptism is necessary. Baptism is obviously thought of as the divine affirmation and strengthening of this human resolution. Similarly we hear from the lips of Jörg Schad that "he desired the sign of brotherly love, that he would do good to his neighbor as to himself, and had water poured over him." Schad wants to begin a new life and in the future act according to the standards of the Sermon on the Mount: "What ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them" (Matthew 7:12); this requires the sign of baptism as the sign of brotherly love; i.e., the sign that makes this love possible.

Thus baptism in Zollikon has a double meaning. It testifies that God gives pardon to the penitent, and that to the pardoned He gives the strength for a new walk.

It is thus a complete unified process of inner change that we see in these Zollikon peasants. These phenomena, which always accompany revival movements, are irresistible and eruptive in character. In reply to the question why he had let himself be baptized, Hans Bruggbach replied that, "it had troubled him so that he simply had to do it." In Rudolf Breittiner's case the feeling of sinfulness came upon him under the open sky—instead of at a meeting—during a walk to Nebelbach with Brötli and Felix Keinast. He stopped and began to weep and lament his sins. Brötli had meanwhile gone on. Breittiner calls him back and begs to be baptized.

Goethe's familiar criticism of the church historians is applicable here. In the ninth of his "Zahme Xenien" he said, "What can I make of church history? I can see nothing but clergymen. As to the Christians, the common people, nothing can be learned" (Mit Kirchengeschichte, was hab ich zu schaffen? Ich sehe weiter nichts als Pfaffen. Wie's um die Christen steht, die Gemeinen, davon will mir gar nichts erscheinen). Church historical sources indeed show us the feelings and thoughts of theologians or the inner experiences of prominent personalities. But the soul struggles in the ordinary nameless Christian are scarcely mentioned. The court records at our disposal for Zollikon are an exception. Here we can look into the hearts of simple men of the common people and share their spiritual anxieties and pleasures.

But the Zollikon records are not only in themselves extraordinary; the cause represented in them is also unusual. I do not know of any similar revival experiences during the Reformation like those preserved in Zollikon. Especially have I found nothing like this almost stormy outbreak of penitence seizing an entire group of men.

A unique repentance movement of this kind deserves clarification. Having considered its outward and inward course during its first week, we must now inquire into the ultimate impulses. I should like to distinguish between the theological and personal instigation.

It has been ascertained that Conrad Grebel and his circle, viz., the Zürich opponents of infant baptism, had already in 1524 reached the conviction on the basis of the New Testament that baptism must be preceded by repentance;[30] impenitent persons must not be baptized. It was a necessary condition that the person to be baptized should have reached an age at which he would be capable of repentance. Thus only responsible persons could be baptized.

At first this was only doctrine. It became practice on January 20, 1525. On that date the baptism of persons of responsible age was introduced as a practice. This meant that persons who wished to be baptized were told, "You must first have repented, i.e., been converted." Personal conversion or repentance now acquired decisive importance as a preliminary step to baptism. Without repentance no baptism, i.e., no salvation.

There is thus behind this revival of Zollikon a new doctrine of repentance. This is the theological occasion for the movement. But the actual impulse was given by the sermon of repentance proceeding from this doctrine of repentance. The religious striving that we have just investigated did not come into being before personalities appeared in Zollikon who caused the cry to repentance to resound with authority.

We know its proclaimers: Grebel, Manz, Brötli, Blaurock. Of these Blaurock is the outstanding figure. Jörg Cajakob[31] was the son of Rhaetian-Romance peasants in Bonaduz in Grisons. He became a Catholic priest in Trins (Grisons). About 1523 he completed the break with the old faith and became a Zwinglian. In that year he also married. In Zürich we see him for the first time at the disputation of January 17, 1525,[32] where he attacks infant baptism. He was probably about thirty-three years old. Blaurock was hotheaded. His friends called him a second Paul, meaning that he

30 I shall here mention only the letter sent to Thomas Müntzer by Grebel in September, 1524, in the name of the Zürich opponents of infant baptism (von Muralt and Schmid, pp. 14 ff., particularly p. 17 f.) ; the previous history of the Zürich Anabaptist movement I am planning to discuss soon in another connection.

31 Concerning Blaurock, see Oskar Vasella, "Von den Anfängen der bündnerischen Tauferbewegung," in *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Geschichte,* 1939, 120.

32 *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder,* ed. R. Wolkan (Wien, 1923), 123. The "Discussion on Matters of Faith" mentioned here was probably the disputation of Jan. 17, 1525, in Zürich.

possessed apostolic convincing power. Today we would probably call him an evangelist. We have heard how urgently he addressed the conscience of young Marx Bosshart and elderly Ruedi Thomann to have themselves and their entire families baptized. Blaurock was a dynamic personality. Especially to his evangelistic appeal, must the Zollikon repentance movement be ascribed.

That Blaurock was not free of violence is shown by the stormy scene in the church of Zollikon on January 29. To be sure, this was an argument with a parson of hostile attitude. Whether Blaurock's sermons of repentance in the meetings or in private pastoral care also contained violent elements is not known. It is, however, possible. Perhaps a number were simply carried away by the temperament and suggestive power of this aggressive personality.

In his formerly widely read books, especially in *Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien* (Leipzig, 1885), Ludwig Keller claimed that the Anabaptists of the Reformation period were closely related to the Waldenses and other evangelical sects of the Middle Ages. According to Keller the Anabaptists were merely the continuers of medieval extra-ecclesiastical movements. This concept is still occasionally found today.

There is a good method to solve this ancient problem, viz., by examining the origin of the theological basis of the Zollikon Anabaptists. The Anabaptist congregation of Zollikon in 1525 was the first to come into existence. If it can be done anywhere, it must be possible on the basis of the theological attitude of this congregation to show whether the Anabaptist cause was born of the Middle Ages or of the Reformation.

Let us briefly examine the individual points of this Anabaptist theology in *statu nascendi,* as they can be reconstituted from events in Zollikon in the week of January 22-29. Jörg Schad and Marx Bosshart report that they prayed to God for recognition of sin.[33] Thus they know that not only the forgiveness of sin is a gift of God, but also the awareness of sin. This the Zollikon Anabaptists, particularly their teachers, learned from Zwingli's preaching. Especially their consciousness of the complete corruption of unregenerate man they acquired from Zwingli, as well as their knowledge that redemption is based alone on God's grace. The fact that the way of human salvation from its very beginning stands under *sola gratia* is the decisive reformatory discovery which also controls the Zollikon Anabaptists, whereas the Middle Ages, the Waldenses included, knew nothing of it.

[33] No. 31.

In the matter of the sacraments the Anabaptists of Zollikon are Zwingli's followers to the extent that they—in contrast to Catholicism and to Luther—interpret baptism and communion symbolically and not sacramentally; to them the Lord's Supper is a parable of the brotherhood of Christians, but not a presentation of the body of Christ. Baptism does not impart forgiveness of sin, but it is a sign which indicates that the believer's sins have been forgiven by God.

Most obviously Zwingli's influence is shown in the manner in which, e.g., the rebaptized peasant Lienhard Bleuler presents his relationship to God and to Christ. Asked by the judge whether he would in the future leave off Anabaptism, he gives the reply that "he was God's servant and no longer had authority over himself and had enrolled under the captain Jesus Christ and would go to death with Him, and whatever He commanded and revealed, he would be obedient and do the same."[34]

These are even in their details Zwinglian formulations. Christ the Captain, in whose army we have enrolled, for whom we shed our blood, and who gives us His spirit—these figures recur frequently in Zwingli.[35] Bleuler is completely absorbed by this idea. He tells his judges: I can no longer dispose of myself, for I have become a soldier of Christ, from whom I receive orders. If necessary, I will go to death for my captain.

A similar statement is made by Rudolf Hottinger; he knows that he is a servant of God and must await what God's Spirit shows, teaches, and commands him.[36] This feeling of the Christian's absolute dependence upon God's command is Christian self-judgment as taught by Zwingli. Rudolf Hottinger and his friends had originally without doubt been more than ordinarily obedient followers of the Zürich reformer, for they had a clear understanding of Zwingli's view of the Christian's status. But now they apply the consciousness of God's personal leading, which they owe to Zwingli, against Zwingli and his conduct of the church.

From the conviction that they know themselves to be servants of God and soldiers of Christ there arose in the men of Zollikon an awareness of independence from the Zürich church, and also from the state. Rudolf Rutschmann in his own name and those of the fourteen Zollikon[37] peasants imprisoned with him said "he has

[34] No. 33.
[35] Cf. G. W. Locher, "Christus unser Hauptmann," in *Zwingliana,* 1950, No. 1.
[36] No. 33.
[37] No. 30.

accepted baptism. And since he is God's servant and subject, he will do what God's Spirit instructs, teaches, and commands him. Therefore, he will not be influenced by men nor allow himself to be diverted by any secular power. In other matters he will in all things that are not contrary to God's Word, be compliant and obedient to the authorities of Zürich.

Who could fail to hear the spirit of the Reformation in this courageous declaration of the fifteen Zollikon peasants? Luther had spoken similarly at Worms. Zwingli had also as a matter of principle, especially in his early years, repudiated the interference of the government in matters of conscience and religion and demanded freedom of faith, especially when it concerned Catholic states. Now he must experience that this demand is also made upon the Protestant Zürich government by Zollikon peasants.

This may be asserted with assurance: The soil on which the new ideas of Grebel, Manz, Blaurock, and Brötli and their followers developed was not the Middle Ages, neither the Roman nor the Waldensian, but Zwingli's reformatory teaching. All of the original Anbaptists had been Zwingli's students and thus adopted the principles of the evangelical faith which they never forgot.[38]

But these students deviated from their teacher, certainly. They placed repentance before baptism, they baptized adults, they asserted that baptism also means strength for a new life, they celebrated the Lord's Supper as a fraternal meal, they rejected the state church or mass church.

These were the differences between Anabaptism and Zwingli in 1525. But what is the trend of these differences? Did the Anabaptists wish to revert to the Middle Ages and revive it? On the contrary! They want to continue the Reformation by deviating on some points from Zwingli's teaching; they want to continue to build on the foundation laid by Zwingli. The deviations from Zwingli are directed toward a still more literal and stricter obedience to the Scripture. For Zwingli, as well as for the Anabaptists, the authority of the Bible is the norm, but in applying this norm the Anabaptists were more literal and Biblicistic. Thus arises the conflict between the teacher Zwingli and his ultra-Zwinglian pupils. One may perhaps say that on the very basis of this conflict, i.e., the sole authority of the Scriptures, Anabaptism is also a daughter—though self-willed—of the Reformation.

38 Eschatological hopes were not prominent in the Anabaptist circle of Zollikon. Nevertheless attention must be called to a single puzzling expression of end-time expectations, which I have discussed in the article, "Die Propheten von Zollikon," in *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter,* IX (1952), 2-10.

Still another question remains to be answered. Was the revival in Zollikon genuinely religious or was it conditioned by political or social influences? The extent of the effect of economic conditions on the rise and spread of Anabaptism has not yet been sufficiently studied. Let us now consider this question solely on the basis of Zollikon.

In his work of 1527, *Elenchus in catabaptistarum strophas,* Zwingli accuses the Zollikon Anabaptists of communistic tendencies.[39] *"Perditi homines mediocrum bona communia volunt esse, sua vero, si quae habent, nullatenus"* (These accursed people want the possessions of the poorer people to be made common to all, but by no means their own, if they have any). As a witness for this assertion, he names a weaver of Hirslanden, Heini Frig, known as Gigli, who told Zwingli that the Anabaptists had used up his winter's supplies.[40] This Frig is also encountered in the court records. He had been baptized in Zollikon in the week of January 22-29 and was arrested on January 30 with his companions. In contrast to the other Anabaptist prisoners he quickly denied his new point of view and in addition he accused his former friends of communism. He asserts[41] that he was urged by the Zollikon Anabaptists to sell his land and give up his trade. It was planned that all things should be held in common and placed in a fund, from which they would all live together.

Frig thus goes further here than when talking to Zwingli. Which of the two utterances is nearer the truth? Can he be considered a reliable witness? Caution is indicated by the fact that his assertion stands alone. It is not supported by any evidence in the court records. Furthermore, even the Zürich authorities did not take his information seriously. For among the questions which the judges asked the Zollikon Anabaptists in 1525 there is none on community of goods, even though Heini Frig had made this serious charge at the beginning of the year. Under these circumstances I believe a large question mark should be added to the charge of communism in Zollikon.

The number of persons known to have been baptized in Zollikon in January 22-29 is about 35.[42] One of these is a woman; thirty-four are men. Anabaptism was thus in this first week still a man's affair. Among the 34 are four hired hands, and 30 are independent

[39] *Kritische Zwingli-Ausgabe,* VI, 85.

[40] *Ibid.,* 83. In the notes are found my comments concerning the identity of Frig.

[41] No. 39.

[42] My figures are based on the names given in Nos. 29, 30, and 31.

peasants. They belong to the old Zollikon families of Breittiner, Bleuler, Hottinger, Kienast, Murer, Rutschmann, Thomann, and others. The Hottingers are the most numerous in the group.

A thorough study of the economic situation of the Zollikon Anabaptist families has been made by Heinrich Bruppacher in his book, *Das alte Zollikon* (1899), confirmed by Paul Guyer in his work, *Die Bevölkerung Zollikons im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (1946). Zollikon had about 50 large-farm owners and about 40 small-farm owners.[43] Most of the Anabaptists belonged to the latter group. Several of the wealthier families, such as Brunner, Ernst, Falk, Häusler, and Obrist, are not found among the Anabaptists. On the other hand, of the 40 small farmers, about 30 were seized by the Anabaptist movement.

May this fact be interpreted to mean that economic factors played an important role in Zollikon? Hardly. It depends on the standing of these peasants. If they were poor, it is possible that they expected Anabaptism to improve their lot. But they cannot be counted among the really poor. According to Bruppacher, "they did not belong to the poor class, but rather had an honorable living by adding to the income from their small farms by hiring out for daily labor or practicing a trade.[44]

The absence of the wealthier class is conspicuous, whereas the people in more modest circumstances took part in the revival. But is this not true today of the participation of the various classes in the life of the church? This distribution has nothing to do with economic longings.

The fact that social aspirations played a part in the Zollikon Anabaptist movement seems very unlikely in the light of the severe inner struggle that preceded the conversion of its individuals, the *terrores conscientiae* these men went through. The concern of these peasants was not for money or possessions, but for their guilt before God and their release from this guilt.

The rise of the Anabaptist group in Zollikon was the birth of a brotherhood of a purely religious character.

The young plant was soon violently suppressed, but that does not decrease its significance. In Zollikon a new type of church had begun to differentiate itself, the Free Church type. Zollikon is the cradle of this idea, which from here entered upon its triumphal march through four centuries and through the whole world.

[43] Nüesch and Bruppacher, *op. cit.*, 83.
[44] *Ibid.*, 83.

THE CHURCH MUSIC OF THE OLD ORDER AMISH AND OLD COLONY MENNONITES

CHARLES BURKHART[1]

1. CONTEMPORARY USAGE

Both the Old Order Amish (hereafter referred to simply as Amish) and the Old Colony Mennonites have the traditional low-church Protestant attitude toward liturgical music: that it is an integral part of every service but secondary in importance to the preaching of the Word. The use of music is felt to be supported by the Apostle Paul's advising the Colossians to "admonish one another . . . in hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord" and by the account in Matthew and Mark of Christ and His disciples singing a hymn upon completion of the first Communion service. The church music of both groups is entirely vocal, musical instruments being in the same category with automobiles and radios. The use of instruments is felt to be an ostentation unbefitting to Christian sobriety and not conducive to the spirit of humility necessary for worship. Further, no justification for the use of instruments is found in the Gospels. Both groups believe their own type of church music to be the best and would not think of using any but their own music in formal church services. A certain fondness for some of the lighter English-language hymn tunes, however, is cherished by many Amish.

Both groups also have no acquaintance with secular music outside of a relatively small number of folk songs. Here the Amish are the more tolerant of the two and do not frown on the informal use of such songs in the home and for recreational purposes. The Old Colonists theoretically disapprove of all music except church hymns. Church leaders of both groups feel that modern, popular songs are sinful and should be avoided altogether, but this attitude does not prevent the sufficiently curious from hearing them. Of "classical" art music as such, both groups are entirely unaware.

Music Among the Amish

Each large Amish settlement is divided into church "districts" which vary in population from ten to forty families. The total num-

[1] This paper is part of a master's thesis on the topic "The Music of the Old Order Amish and the Old Colony Mennonites: A Contemporary Monodic Practice," written by Charles Burkhart in 1952 at Colorado College. Copies of the thesis are deposited in the libraries of Colorado College, Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas, and Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana. See also his paper on "Music of the Old Colony Mennonites," *Mennonite Life,* Newton, Kansas, January, 1952.

ber of congregations in the United States is one hundred and sixty. In general, each of these has one bishop, two to four preachers, one deacon, and an average number of seventy-five members. The Amish do not have special buildings which serve as church houses but hold their services in members' homes, a practice that has survived since earliest times when the Anabaptists had to meet clandestinely to avoid persecution.

Services are held in a given district only every other Sunday and take place each time in a different home. The Amish are opposed to evening services, midweek prayer meetings, religious meetings for youth, and generally to Sunday schools and have regular services only on Sunday morning which are attended by all, young and old. Before the congregation arrives, the room in which church is to be held is cleared of all domestic furniture and special backless benches are set out on which the senior *Vorsänger*[2] then places the hymnbooks. Before nine o'clock the congregation begins to assemble, men and women sitting on opposite sides of the room. Meanwhile, in an upstairs room, the ministers hold a short meeting called the Abrath (pronounced ōp-rōt) in which the reader of the Scriptures and the preacher of the morning are decided upon and (during the summer) candidates for baptism are instructed.

At nine o'clock the service begins with the singing of a hymn.[3] The second hymn of each service, which follows immediately, is always the same one: "O Gott Vater, wir loben dich" (*Ausbund,* p. 770),[4] also known simply as the *Lobgesang.* After this hymn the ministers usually come down and take their seats, but if they do not, a third hymn is sung. (The *Vorsänger* announces all hymns except the second by page and, sometimes, by stanza.) When the ministers appear, the singing stops at the end of the line being sung. One of the ministers then rises and delivers the *Vermahnung* or *Anfang,* an exhortation of a devotional nature. The entire congregation then kneels, facing their benches, for silent prayer lasting

2 *Vorsänger,* "he who sings before (the rest)," a term used by both Amish and Old Colonists to denote the song-leader. His indispensable role in the performance of church music will be described in detail below. A single Amish church may have as many as eight *Vorsänger* of varying ages who take turns leading the singing. The *Vorsänger* finds a counterpart in the "chorister" of those Mennonite groups which, like the Amish, make no use of musical instruments in church.

3 The hymns of Germanic origin used in formal church services are of chief interest here. They are called "slow" hymns by the Amish. However, as suggested previously, lighter hymn tunes of English and early American origin are not unknown among the Amish. These are designated as "fast."

4 *Ausbund, das ist: Etliche schöne Christliche Lieder, wie sie in dem Gefängnis zu Passau in dem Schloss von den Schweizer-Brüdern und von anderen rechtgläubigen Christen hin und her gedichtet worden,* thirteenth edition (Verlag von den Amischen Gemeinden in Lancaster County, Pa., 1949), vi & 895 pp.

several minutes, after which they stand while the first Scripture is read by the same minister.

A second minister then rises and delivers the sermon which consists of a reading or a recitation by memory of the second Scripture with "running" comment. The preacher makes almost no preparation for a particular sermon but depends wholly upon immediate inspiration.[5] An often preached sermon is an outlining of the entire Bible story from the creation to the crucifixion and may consume an hour and a half or longer. To relieve the tedium for the very small children a bowl of cookies is sometimes passed around.

After the sermon the preacher asks for *Zeugnissgeben* (testimony-giving) and all the other ministers and deacons present attest in turn to the truth of the sermon preached and give their approval of it. The preacher then adds a few closing words after which all kneel while he reads from a prayer book. Following a few verses of another song all rise while the preacher reads or recites the benediction. At the words "Jesum Christum" all bow the knee. Before the dismissal, announcements are made concerning future meetings; church business, if any, is also attended to.

After the service, which ends at about twelve noon, the men and boys file out into the yard while the women of the house prepare a large but very simple meal which is then served to all present. After visiting for a while, all go to their own homes, arriving in time for "chores."

About nightfall of the same day the young people assemble at the home where church was held for the purpose of "coupling off." This custom involves a rather lengthly ritual which includes the singing of a number of hymns, both "fast" and "slow."[6]

Amish ministers make use of a list of Scripture readings and hymns which they use as a guide throughout the year. These contain minor variations from district to district and are not regarded as a rule from which no one may deviate. Readings and hymns for certain special occasions are always the same but, other than these, the minister is allowed some choice. Some of the occasions involving changes in or additions to the order of service deserve mention:

1) Communion: lasts into the afternoon; during the ordinance of feet-washing stanzas of "Von Herzen woll'n wir singen" (*Ausbund,* p. 692) are sung;

[5] In many localities it is the custom for the preacher to intone his sentences on a single pitch with a dropping off of the voice on the last word, a practice reminiscent of the tenor and final of the Gregorian psalm tone. This phenomenon is also found among Old Colony preachers.

[6] See note 3 above.

2) Reinstatement of fallen member: this meeting, attended only by church members, occurs after the Sunday morning service; certain Scripture verses are read, questions are asked the fallen one who professes repentance and promises faithfulness, and stanzas thirty-one and thirty-two of "Es hatt' ein Mann zween Knaben" (*Ausbund,* p. 520) are sung;
3) Funerals: in the afternoon of any day; special hymns are sung at the service and at the burial, e.g., "Zu sing'n hab ich im Sinn" (*Ausbund*, p. 796);
4) Weddings: see below.

Music plays such an important part in wedding ceremonies and in the subsequent wedding feast that more detailed descriptions of these occasions are in order.

On the wedding day, the home of the bride is the scene of much activity, and for that reason the wedding service is never held there but at the home of a neighbor. Like the Sunday service, it usually lasts from nine in the morning to noon. Three hymns instead of the usual two, "Wohlauf, wohlauf, du Gottes G'mein" (*Ausbund,* p. 508), the *Lobgesang,* and "So will ichs aber heben an" (*Ausbund,* p. 378), are sung while the bishop and ministers, in a room apart, counsel the couple on godly behavior. During the service, special Scriptures are read and the sermon includes the marriage story from the Apocryphal book of Tobias. Following the sermon is the marriage proper, performed by the minister. The closing hymn is always "Gelobt sey Gott im Höchsten Thron" (*Ausbund*, p. 712).

After the service, the entire congregation, which on this day may include friends and relatives from other districts, go to the bride's home for an elaborate wedding meal, after which all sing together for an hour or two. The first seven or eight hymns are in a definite order and include "Wachet auf! ruft uns die Stimm'," "Ich will lieben" (*Unparteiische Liedersammlung*, p. 183),[7] a "fast" hymn to the tune of "Come, Thou Fount of Every Blessing," and "Ermuntert euch ihr Frommen" (*ibid.*, p. 215), a "fast" hymn to the tune of "From Greenland's Icy Mountains." After these, anyone may choose any hymn.

At about four o'clock in the afternoon, the young people, the bridal couple excluded, go out to the barn to engage in "party plays" (a euphemism for "folk dances"). Some play in groups while oth-

[7] *Unparteiische Liedersammlung zum Gebrauch beim Oeffentlichen Gottesdienst und zur Häuslichen Erbauung,* revised and enlarged fourth edition, S. D. Guengerich, editor-in-chief (Arthur, Illinois: L. A. Miller, 1940). 514 pp.

ers sing early American folk tunes such as "Skip to My Lou," "There Goes Topsy Through the Window," and "Pop Goes the Weasel." Other "plays" are "Six-handed Reel" and "O-H-I-O."[8] At five-thirty all gather together again for supper, after which a "fast" hymn, "In der stillen Einsamkeit" (*Unparteiische Leidersammlung,* p. 242), is sung to the tune of "Jesus, Lover of My Soul." More hymns are then suggested and sung, following which toasts are offered and jokes told. At about nine in the evening, the young people return to the barn for more games while their elders gossip and occasionally sing a hymn. After the young people return to the house again, the bridal couple, followed by many of their guests, go upstairs to view their gifts. By this time it is near midnight and time for the guests to go home.[9]

Music Among the Old Colonists

Unlike the Amish, the Old Colonists have regular church buildings patterned after their old Prussian meetinghouses. Though most of their dwellings and barns are made of Mexican-style adobe bricks, their churches are sturdy frame buildings. The simple interior of an Old Colony church consists of one large room with a very small anteroom or two. The large room, in which church is held, is filled with long, wooden, backless benches. Men and women never sit together at a church service, the former sitting on the right and the latter on the left facing the pulpit. Above the men's benches are fastened long, thin beams to which short pegs that serve as hatracks are attached. At the front of the room is a platform connected with the main floor by two or three low steps. The pulpit and seats for the minister and some eight *Vorsänger* stand on the platform. The church contains no nonutilitarian adornments whatever.

In the Mexican states of Chihuahua and Durango there are nineteen such churches, each one serving several villages. The *Men-*

[8] Besides early American folk tunes such as these, the Amish also perpetuate a number of High German and Pennsylvania Dutch folk poems, many of which are sung to one tune or another. These include lullabies, love ballads, and humorous poems, two of which, "Grummbuckliche Männle" and "Lauderbach," are sung respectively to the tunes, "Yankee Doodle" and "O Where, O Where Has My Little Dog Gone?" Though some such poems may be indigenous, many were doubtless the common property of the entire German-speaking population of early Pennsylvania. Since the Amish culture has evolved at a slower rate than that of other groups, it has preserved many such phenomena that have disappeared elsewhere.

[9] The accounts of the Amish Sunday service and wedding given here are drawn largely from Yoder's *Rosanna's Boys* (Yoder, Joseph W., *Rosanna's Boys: A Sequel to "Rosanna of the Amish."* Huntingdon, Pa.: The Yoder Publishing Company, 1948) and are most typical of Amish communities in eastern Pennsylvania. Certainly not every community's customs are exactly alike, those in western states having been somewhat more susceptible to social change than the eastern ones.

nonite Yearbook and Directory for 1951 lists 5,679 members, three bishops, thirty ministers, and five deacons.

As in Amish communities, regular church services are scheduled for every other Sunday morning, a very few church holidays excepted. As the members take their seats, each one first offers a short, silent prayer before shaking hands with his neighbor. No small children are brought to church; they are expected to receive their religious education at home and in school. When the time to begin arrives, the *Vorsänger* enter and seat themselves on the platform according to seniority. After a hymn from the *Morgenlieder* section of the *Gesangbuch* the preacher enters from an anteroom and says in German: "The peace of the Lord be upon this house." He then makes a few opening remarks and reads the Scripture, after which all kneel for silent prayer followed by a short, spoken prayer by the minister. A long sermon is next read from one of a number of old High German sermon books, the reading being intoned in a manner similar to that of the Amish. Some ministers frequently intersperse their reading with expository comments in Plattdeutsch. Following the sermon is another prayer and final song, selected to correspond with the minister's text. The minister then closes the service and all go to their homes, usually traveling by horse and buggy or in small horse-drawn wagons furnished with seats. Though slightly simpler than Amish services, those of the Old Colonists are approximately of the same length. They begin and end somewhat earlier to allow the women time to prepare dinner by noon.

The order of the Old Colony service does not differ on church holidays except that a second, topical hymn is sung in addition to the usual *Morgenlied*. Some of the hymns traditionally sung on holidays and special occasions are listed here by their number in the Old Colony *Gesangbuch*.

Sunday before Communion:	494
Communion Sunday:	
before the ceremony:	131 or 129
at the bread-breaking:	132
at the passing of the wine-cup:	134
at the closing:	530 or 534
Sunday after Communion:	628
Baptism:	
Morgenlied:	122
after the ceremony:	124

Weddings:	
before the ceremony:	546 or 536
after the ceremony:	537 or 521
Funerals:	
of adults:	703, 544, or 705
of children:	704, 545, or 708
Harvest Thanksgiving:	538

English and American "gospel songs" are almost unknown by these people, though an Old Colonist who happens to hear one is usually fascinated by the harmony and lively rhythm, elements of which his own music is devoid.

The Old Colonists do not make as much of weddings as the Amish. With them, a much more important event is the *Verlaffniss,* or engagement announcement party, which is held at the home of the bride-to-be. Attended chiefly by young people, the *Verlaffniss* is often the scene of folk dancing. Here Mexican popular songs, picked up in towns, from Mexican hired hands or from the forbidden radios, are sometimes played on forbidden instruments. Such dances do not have the sanction of the church, a fact which does not make for a healthy frame of mind among the youth.

2. Origin and Development

History of Amish Music

It has been suggested by Christian Hege, German Mennonite scholar,[10] that the early Anabaptists sang their hymns to the then current folk tunes in the hope that such a practice might help conceal the contents of the texts from their persecutors. Hege further suggested that, as soon as the threat of persecution had abated, Anabaptist poets based their hymns on sacred melodies taken, for the most part, from the body of Lutheran and Reformed chorales. Whether or not these speculations are wholly correct, it is certain that secular folk tunes and chorale tunes provided the melodic basis for the Swiss and South German Anabaptist hymnology and that these tunes were perpetuated in some form by all Mennonites and Amish alike until the latter half of the eighteenth century. At that time the Mennonites began to adopt newer hymns and hymn tunes from other sources, leaving the Amish to carry on the ancient musical tradition alone.

[10] Hege, Christian, "Melodien," *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* C. Hege and C. Neff, editors (Frankfurt am Main u. Weierhof, Germany: published by the editors, 1937).

In preserving this tradition, the Amish have been aided by their noteless hymnbook, the *Ausbund,* which is one of the oldest hymnbooks still in use in a Christian church. The first edition of 1564 gave no publisher's name for fear that it would be confiscated as Anabaptist literature and the publisher apprehended. The nucleus of the *Aubsund* is fifty-one hymns by German and Swiss Anabaptists who were imprisoned and finally executed at a castle in Passau, Bavaria, between 1535 and 1537. About half of these hymns are by two men, Hans Petz and Michael Schneider, the authorship of most of the rest being unknown. It is understandable that the tone of these poems is sorrowful and lonely and that they often voice protests against the wicked world. Yet they are not despairing but always include a note of hope in Christ. Besides martyr hymns, also found in the *Ausbund* are many hymns on Christian doctrine and early Anabaptist practice along with translations of eleven hymns taken from a Dutch book, *Het Offer des Heeren* (1563). All the hymns are in Middle High German.

After passing through numerous European editions, the *Ausbund* was brought to the New World by the Amish where its use has been continued to the present time. The 1949 edition is numbered as the thirteenth in America. The book has never been revised, though edited versions of some of the texts have been incorporated into other books (see below). The American editions contain one hundred and forty songs in the main part of the book and six more in an appendix. Only a small portion of these are still used in church services, the Amish having gradually dropped most of the texts of a folk nature, such as those which narrate a story, in favor of strictly devotional, spiritual texts. Herein the Amish have probably been influenced by more sophisticated religious groups.

Besides the *Ausbund,* several other smaller hymnbooks have helped to perpetuate the music of the Amish since their arrival in America. One of these, the *Unparteiische Liedersammlung,* or Nonsectarian Hymn Collection, deserves mention. This book was originally a Pennsylvania product, having first appeared in 1860 at Lancaster. The first several editions contained texts taken from the *Ausbund* as well as numerous "fast" songs drawn from the *Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch,* then the hymnbook of the Lancaster County Mennonites. In 1892, however, the Amish in Iowa promoted a revised and enlarged edition of this book, adding more texts from the *Ausbund* (bringing the total of *Ausbund* texts to seventy-eight) and including many "fast" songs. The purposes of the Iowans were to make up for the lack of good church music for all occasions and

to preserve all traditional Amish music and hymnology. To this end they made single hymns out of fragments of different, partly forgotten texts and even altered the syllabification of certain *Ausbund* texts in order to fit them to known melodies. This revised edition, entirely noteless like the *Ausbund*, also includes a syllable-index in which all texts are grouped according to number of syllables so that all possible combinations of tune and text may readily be discovered and sung. In many Amish churches west of Pennsylvania this book is in wide use in preference to the bulkier *Ausbund*. Like its predecessor, the original *Unparteiische Liedersammlung,* which is still used in Pennsylvania, it is affectionately referred to by the Amish as the "dünne Büchle" (the thin book).

A large portion of Amish music has recently been notated for the first time by Joseph W. Yoder, a Pennsylvanian of Amish background. He induced numerous Old Order Amish *Vorsänger* to sing their hymns for him and later printed his transcriptions of these hymns in book form under the title *Amische Lieder*. His purpose was purely practical, his hope being that the Amish would adopt his book as a preservative measure. This they have not done because of their habitual fear of anything new. The book has been, however, of great musicological value.

Though the *Ausbund* contains no notation, under the title of each hymn is given the name of some well-known tune (well known in the sixteenth century, that is) to which the hymn can be sung. Typical of these tune-suggestions are "Jörg Wagners Ton," "Hildebrandton," "Rosinfarb war dein Gestalt," "Der Schlemmer," "Es ging ein Fräulein mit dem Krug," "Aus tiefer Noth," "Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott," "Nun danket Gott von Hertzen," etc. The relationship of these tune-suggestions to contemporary Amish music has recently been pointed out by the American musicologist and folklorist, George Pullen Jackson.[11]

Noting that nearly every syllable of the text of an Amish hymn was sung to a melisma of from three to nine notes, Jackson counted all but the initial tone in each melisma as "embellishment," extracted all the initial tones and found that, when sung consecutively, they formed "organic . . . and intelligible melodies."[12] By comparing these melodies with early German folk songs as recorded in the *Deutscher Liederhort* of Erk and Böhme, he discovered that most of them bore more or less resemblance to one or more folk songs

[11] Jackson, George Pullen, "The Strange Music of the Old Order Amish," *The Musical Quarterly,* XXXI (July, 1945), 275-88.

[12] *Ibid.,* 280.

but that, with few exceptions, the Amish were no longer singing them to the tunes recommended in the *Ausbund.* Instead, tunes and texts had apparently shifted and mingled in the course of time—a phenomenon that might easily occur when singers are not bound by notation. Jackson claims, however, to have discovered eight Amish songs which are still sung to the tune-text combination called for in the *Ausbund.*

Issue might be taken with Jackson on his method of extracting the *Urtöne* of the original folk songs. Instead of extracting the *first* tone in each group, it would be more reasonable to select the *predominating* tone, that is, the tone that occurs the most times or is held the longest, be it the first or not. Jackson's method does not take into account the possibility of the first tone being a short ornament of the *Urton,* which is often the case.

Besides pointing out the source of Amish music, Jackson also offers an interesting speculation on *how* the highly embellished versions of the present developed from their relatively simpler ancestors. In his *Musical Quarterly* article[13] he states:

". . . it is common observation that groups sing more slowly than a solo singer. And when the group is uncontrolled (by instrument, director, or notation) it drags still more . . . . And even worse—the human vocal apparatus doesn't seem to be able to hold to a given tone very long without letting down, breaking over into some sort of pitch variation. Hence the singer, holding as best he can to any given tone while waiting till the group-mind decides to sing the *next* tune-tone, tends to waver up and down . . . . If the wobbling about remained the self-relief of one person among the many singing together, it might well be neglected by the recorder of group song. But it doesn't remain thus. The relief of the one tends to become the relief of the many. The many tend to waver along similar lines. Their vocal vagaries become fixed, stylized, incorporated with their "tunes," and a singing *manner* is born—or evolves."

This theory suggests that "in the beginning" there existed simple folk songs with generally only one tone per syllable, to which, in the course of time, more and more tones were added until today there are anywhere from three to eight or nine tones per syllable. As this type of "ornamentation," or rather, "tone-addition," increased, the *Urmelodien* tended to become more and more forgotten until finally the singers accepted the resultant ornamented forms as new melodies in their own right. Just why these departures from the originals took the direction they did is impossible to determine. Jackson's theory of the psychological process involved is probably as close as anyone can come to explaining how Amish music, and Old Colony music as well, got to be the way it is. Nor is there an

[13] *Ibid.,* 278-79.

apparent reason why a few tones in most Amish tunes are not embellished at all, since such tones occur with such irregularity and on words of such varied importance. A scarcity of "tone-additions" throughout a given tune, moreover, suggests that that tune is relatively new to the singers or that, for some reason, it has been preserved in more or less its original form. One of these ornate Amish melodies, "Fröhlich so will ich singen," is given on page 53.

This type of "tone-addition" is called "primary" ornamentation in the remainder of this study in order to differentiate it from another type which will be discussed later. Actually, since contemporary Amish singers are quite unaware that many of the tones that they sing are additions, this phenomenon is not ornamentation in the strictest sense. The term is retained here because other writers have used it without fully defining it.

Mention should also be made of another theory of origin offered by the transcriber of the Pennsylvania Amish music, Joseph Yoder. He believes that Amish tunes descend from Gregorian chant, an opinion that is based on the observation that both Amish music and chant are monodic, melismatic, and free of a regular meter. Though Yoder fails entirely to take Jackson's findings into account, he may be (accidentally) right in so far as some German folk tunes are, in their turn, of Gregorian origin, a fact only recently established by musicological research. But the melismas of Amish music have no relation whatever to Gregorian chant, being a much more recent development.

History of Old Colony Music

When the Dutch Mennonites migrated to North Germany, they did no singing at first because of fear of intolerant authorities. Later, when they asked for permission to sing, they were not refused. Accounts mention the use of little Dutch hymnbooks. In 1724, a hymnbook was printed in Amsterdam expressly for the Mennonite churches in Prussia.

Until 1750, the Dutch language was used exclusively in the North German churches. As the change to High German took place, the need for a hymnbook in that language became increasingly apparent and in 1767 the first edition of the *Geistreiches Gesangbuch* (Spiritual Hymnbook) was published at Königsberg. This book consisted of (1) translations into German of already known Dutch hymns, (2) many hymns drawn from other Protestant hymnbooks then in use, the "Hallischen, Startgardschen, Quandt- und Rogallischen Gesangbücher" being given special mention in the preface,

and (3) a number of hymns that had "never been printed before." Subsequent editions contained various alterations.

The *Gesangbuch* contained (and still contains) hymn texts only, the melodies being perpetuated largely by rote. The melodies used were chorale tunes common to all Protestant groups in northern Europe. Since many of these chorales were of secular or Roman origin, it is understandable that the Anabaptists would be as familiar with them as anyone else. The Prussian and early Russian Mennonites sang them without instrumental accompaniment and almost certainly in unison.

The Mennonites in Russia were furnished with Prussian editions of the *Gesangbuch* until 1844, when they began to print their own. Subsequent Russian editions number six, were printed in Odessa and Leipzig, and are all practically alike. Though other hymnbooks were gradually adopted by the more progressive groups in Russia and Prussia, the Old Colonists continued to use the *Gesangbuch* exclusively. After moving to Canada, they had copies printed by John Funk of Elkhart, Indiana (1880), and by the Mennonite Publishing House of Scottdale, Pennsylvania. In Mexico the book has been printed numerous times by G. J. Rempel of the village of Blumenort. These Mexican editions are virtually identical with the first Russian edition. Besides the Bible, the *Gesangbuch* is one of the very few books that an Old Colonist home is almost certain to have.

As used today in Mexico, the *Gesangbuch* contains 725 hymn texts on all topics related to Protestant Christian practice plus indices of titles, subjects, and Biblical references. There are also lists of the various hymns grouped according to the 163 melodies to which they are sung. The fact that specific melodies were known by number long before the appearance of the first edition of the Franz *Choralbuch* (see below) suggests that the perpetuation of the music was far from a haphazard process in spite of the lack of a printed hymnbook with notes. It is likely that notated versions were available to educated individuals long before notated hymnbooks were printed and in general use.

Because the Russian Mennonites propagated their music largely by memory, many "corruptions" gradually crept into their performance, doubtless by much the same process as primary ornaments were gradually incorporated into the Amish tunes. To counteract these corruptions a Prussian named Heinrich Franz, who taught in the Ohrloff colony schools for a time, procured definitive versions of all the 163 chorale melodies called for in the *Gesang-*

buch and compiled them in a little *Choralbuch,* which was printed in 1860 and 1880 by *Breitkopf und Härtel* of Leipzig especially for the Mennonites of Russia. Both these editions gave the chorales in four-part harmonizations by Franz. More popular with the Mennonites, however, was an 1865 edition, also by *Breitkopf und Härtel,* which gave the melody-line only.[14] This one-part edition and subsequent editions of the same book printed by the Mennonites themselves were long used in the Mennonite schools in Russia and tended to restore the purity of the melodies. The American editions of 1878, 1918, etc., are virtually identical with the first Russian edition. The last so far, designated as the fifth American edition, is undated and was printed by D. W. Friesen and Sons of Altona, Manitoba. The book still finds some use among the more conservative groups in Canada and the *Kleine Gemeinde* Mennonites in Mexico, but the Old Colonists have dropped it.

It is surprising that the very first Russian editions of the *Choralbuch* were accepted and used by the conservative Old Colonists. However, one of the daughter-colonies, Bergtal, did not adopt it. When both these groups migrated to Canada, the Old Colonists, under Elder Johann Wiebe, "returned to the traditional way of singing as they had become accustomed to it prior to the introduction of the *Choralbuch.* The Bergtal group, which had not accepted the *Choralbuch* . . . in Russia, did so in Manitoba."[15] From this it appears that the Old Colonists had been singing in their ornamented style for many years (it is probably impossible to determine how many) before 1860, the year the *Choralbuch* came out, and that this style, or a less extreme form of it, was common to all Mennonites in Russia. Obviously the Old Colonists did not use the *Choralbuch* long enough to forget their old style. Since they migrated to Canada in 1874, they likely discarded the book before 1880.

This action of the Old Colonists is consistent with their belief that the *old* way is best and their ever-increasing desire to preserve the old at any price. At present they continue to perpetuate their old style of singing, "alte Weise," as they call it, in Mexico, the Franz *Choralbuch* with its "Ziffern Weise" singing being entirely unknown among them. Since they have forgotten much of their history, they are unaware that the "Ziffern" style (i.e., with one note per

[14] All of these editions, four-part and one-part, were printed in *Ziffern* notation, or cipher notation, a simple system which employs no notes but in which the number one represents do; two, re; three, mi, etc.

[15] Krahn, Cornelius, *Adventure in Conviction* (to be published in 1953).

syllable) is actually far older than their comparatively recent ornamented style.

The majority of Russian Mennonite emigrants now in Canada and the United States have long since adopted four-part, accompanied hymn-singing as well as hymnbooks printed in modern notation. These Mennonites regard the singing of the Old Colonists as tasteless and corrupt.

Transcriptions of twelve Old Colony melodies ("alte Weise") are given in Appendix A of the thesis from which this paper is taken, side by side with the chorales (copied from the Franz *Choralbuch*) from which they derive. One of these, "Jesu meine Freude," is reproduced here on page 54.

Propagation Techniques

Having to rely solely on their memories to preserve their music, both the Amish and Old Colonists stress the importance of teaching it to the young, the former through repeated hearings in church, the latter in the schools. The youth of both groups also meet from time to time in homes for singing practice led by an elder *Vorsänger*. It requires a great deal of practice for the youth to learn the hymns and few young men ever become proficient enough to lead. A young Amishman or Old Colonist with musical talent is encouraged to practice diligently so that he can eventually take his place as a *Vorsänger*.

To these direct methods should be added the already described hymnbooks which, though they contain only the texts, naturally serve as visual aids in recalling the tunes.

Neither group has any interest in notated versions of their music and do not readily consent to have it recorded.

3. Performance Practice

Tone Production

All Amish and Old Colony music is monodic and sung by men and women together at the interval of an octave. In performance, neither group makes use of natural voice production; instead, their singing is nasal. This practice might be partially attributed to the fact that many do not open their mouths very wide, since they make no attempt to enunciate clearly. It could also be argued that it is the most natural way for an untutored people to sing. Since no dynamics are consciously observed, all sing at about *mezzo forte* in the middle of their range. The resulting tone quality is quite piercing and resonant.

Responsorial Techniques

Both groups also make use of simple responsive singing between the *Vorsänger* and the congregation. The former, who is always male, sings all the time, the latter making short pauses at specific points.

In the case of the Amish, the *Vorsänger* alone sings the first syllable of each line of the text; the congregation then joins in on the second syllable. Even if the first word of a line is polysyllabic this practice is observed. However, it is more strictly observed in some areas than in others.

In a personal interview, John Umble told the writer of two variations in the responsorial practices which are to be found in some Indiana Amish communities. A *Vorsänger* may choose to start on any stanza other than the first, in which case he sings the entire first line alone, the congregation joining in on the second. Also, some *Vorsänger* quit singing before reaching the end of a line and anticipate the next line before the congregation has quite finished the previous one. These are likely local peculiarities.

The Old Colony practice is slightly different: at the end of each line, the congregation stops singing on the first tone of the last syllable-group (see below), but the *Vorsänger* adds a few more tones of his own composition, after which the congregation, having had plenty of time to catch a new breath, begins to sing again on the first syllable of the succeeding line. Thus there is no break in the actual sound, since the *Vorsänger* waits to breathe until the congregation has begun the next line.

Tempo

Of all the elements which make up the style in question, the tempo is by far the most elusive and difficult to analyze. It can be generally said that the music of neither group is really slow, that is, contains many very long tones. However, an effect of slowness is sometimes given by the fact that a single syllable is often sung to a fairly long melisma.

Though neither music has a regular meter, the general tempo can be determined from repeated hearings. The Krahn recording[16] shows that an average line of Old Colony Hymns 9b and 12 consume from seventeen to twenty seconds. Since the Amish transcriptions[17] are in metrical notation, metronome numbers are given

[16] Recording of two hymns by Cornelius Krahn; taken at North Newton, Kansas, 1945.

[17] See Appendix A of the Burkhart thesis referred to in footnote 1.

with some of them, but these indicate only a very general tempo. The "beat" of an Amish hymn may fluctuate a great deal within a single line.

No two performances of an Amish or Old Colony hymn are exactly alike. Even repetitions of the same line of melody within a single stanza come out slightly different. This is because both groups practice a kind of improvised ornamentation of which they are at least partially unconscious (see below). Such a practice is typical of many folk styles that are not limited by notation.

4. Formal and Stylistic Characteristics

Relation of Music to the Text

The texts of Amish and Old Colony hymns are rhymed, metrical German poems. Many, particularly those of the Old Colonists, are traditional Protestant chorales and most of the rest have a formal structure similar to that of the chorale.

Nearly every syllable is sung to a melisma of anywhere from three to nine tones. There seems to be no reason for some syllables receiving more florid ornamentation than others, every syllable, with the exception of the last in each line, being equally eligible for embellishment. In Amish hymns the final syllable of each line almost always receives only one tone; the same is true of Old Colony singing except for the *Vorsänger,* who inserts a short melisma between the lines.

Neither of the two bodies of music exhibits any intentional word-painting.

Secondary Ornamentation and Melodic Formulae

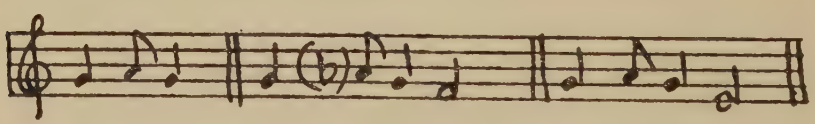
Besides the "primary" type of ornamentation already described in detail, there exists a second type which consists of quite *short* tones. Such ornaments, constituting a hallmark of the styles of both groups, are most frequently inserted by the *Vorsänger.* Because they are naturally more difficult to follow, a congregational singer may not always include as many, depending on his proximity to the *Vorsänger* and the regularity with which the *Vorsänger* sings them himself in successive stanzas and successive performances. It is very likely that they are often added unconsciously and that they are the result of a natural desire to activate what would otherwise be a relatively uninteresting musical line. It is also quite conceivable that they are included for their enjoyable, aesthetic effect, much as in art music. An Amish or Old Colony *Vorsänger,* seeing no relation-

ship between *musical* embellishment and the more obvious adornments rejected by his culture, such as jewelry and fancy clothing, may feel free to insert a little flourish here and there to beautify his otherwise rather pedestrian music. It is no coincidence that this practice is reminiscent of the liberties often taken by operatic singers. It is also of interest to note that much the same type of ornaments (though occurring less frequently) is employed by conservative Mennonite groups in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in their performances of notated versions of four-part hymns and Gospel songs.

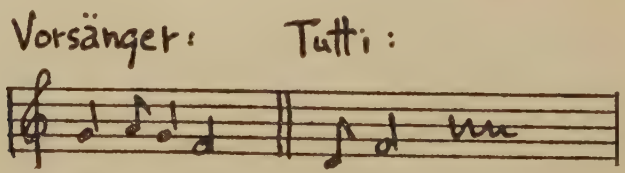
In addition to specific ornaments, the styles of both groups contain certain melodic formulae that constantly recur, many of which, particularly those of the Old Colonists, contain short ornaments. Examples of the ornaments and formulae in the music of both groups are reproduced and discussed further in Appendix C.

In connection with ornamentation, mention should also be made of the "mediants" sung by the Old Colony *Vorsänger* alone. As described earlier, the congregation stops abruptly on the first tone in the last syllable-group of every line, after which the *Vorsänger* moves immediately to a new tone and sings a short mediant. Of the twenty-seven examples of mediants included in the transcriptions, eleven anticipate the tone that the congregation comes in on at the start of the next line. Nearly all the rest move to a tone only one degree away from the first congregation-tone.

Sixteen different mediant formulae are found in the transcriptions. Of these, the following three occur most often:



Only the second of these could be said to anticipate the next congregation-tone. The procedure is frequently as follows:



Mediants used for the same hymn probably vary with individual *Vorsänger*. Each congregation grows accustomed to the formulae usually employed by its own men. The congregation sim-

ply makes its entrance at the proper time without the slightest bodily gesture from the *Vorsänger,* which suggests that the formulae tend to become stereotyped to the point where they serve as easily followed musical cues.

These mediants have something of a counterpart in the cadence formulae of the psalms for the Gregorian vesper service; these cadences are adapted to the first tone in the succeeding *antiphons.* It is of interest that the first two formulae quoted above are, coincidentally, exact duplicates of Gregorian cadences.

Modality

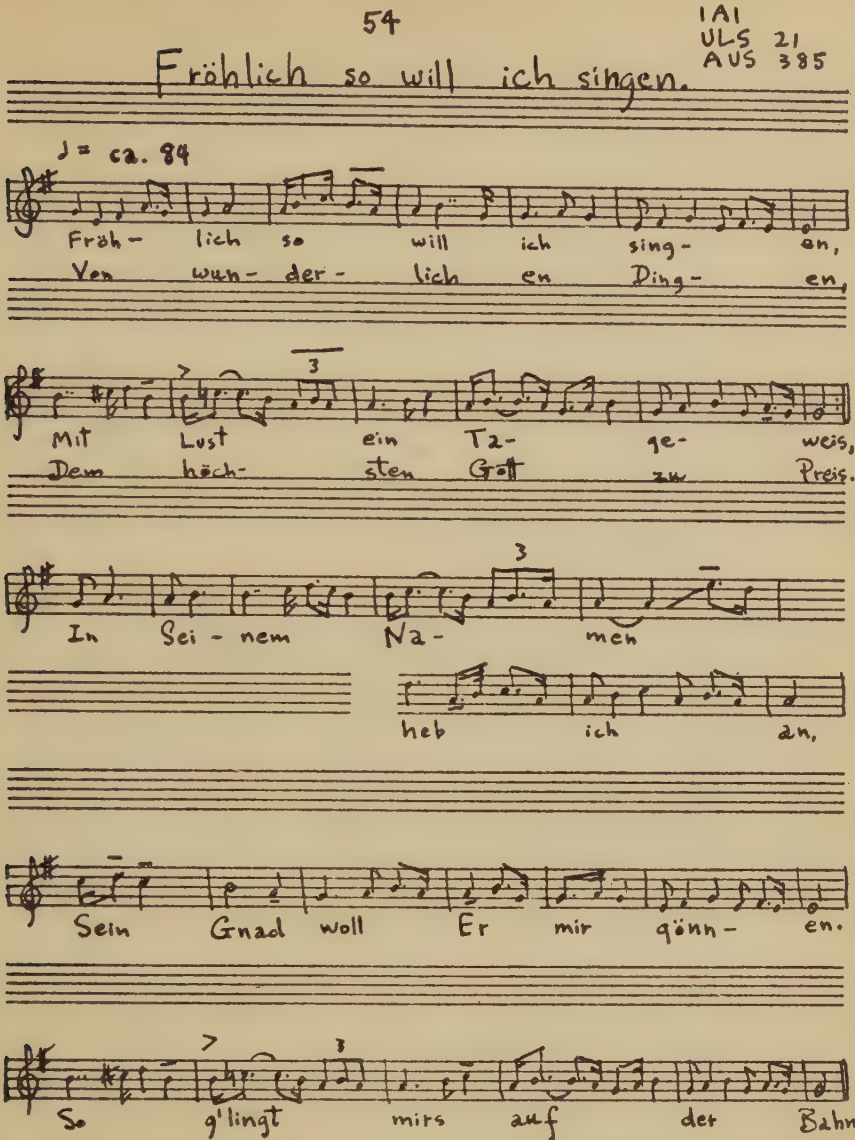
Being strictly monodic, the two musical styles in question lend themselves to modality. Of the twenty-four Amish "slow" tunes transcribed, sixteen are in the major mode and two in the natural minor. The rest are in one or more of the church modes. *Musica ficta* often occurs. Of the twelve Old Colony hymns, seven are in major, one in the natural minor, the rest employing church modes and *musica ficta.*

More often than not, leading-tones found in the *Choralbuch* versions of the Old Colony chorales have not been retained by the Old Colonists themselves, with the result that their ornamented versions are more modal. Possible explanations of this are: (1) the extensive ornamentation may blur the tonality of the *Urmelodie,* decreasing the need for leading-tone functions; (2) a natural feeling for modality on the part of the Old Colonists; (3) possible alterations for the sake of tonality by Franz of what were originally modal chorales; the Old Colonists, relatively unaffected by Franz's book, may have preserved more faithfully certain aspects of the original melody.

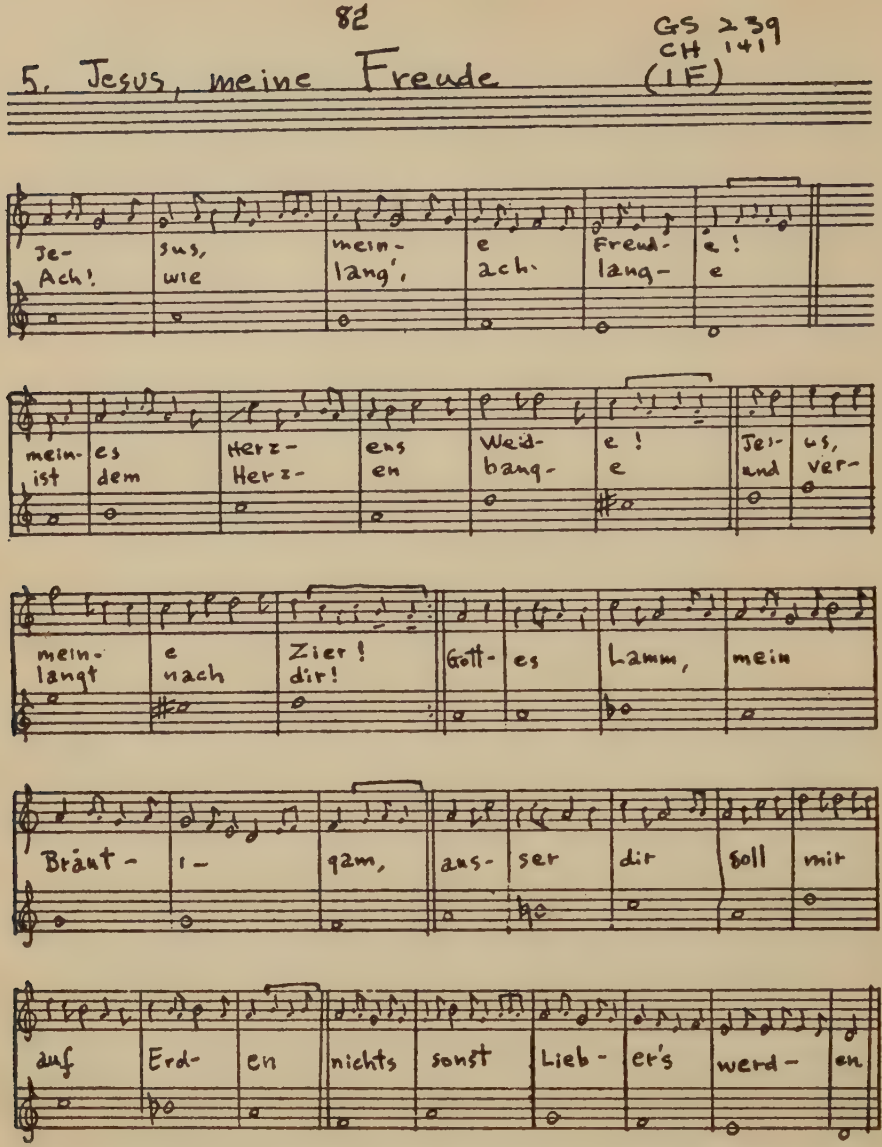
Conclusion

Besides the Amish and Old Colonists, other contemporary folk groups with no connection to the Anabaptist tradition have evolved similar ornamented styles. Each example of this phenomenon involves an attempt by the group to perpetuate specific tunes by memory over a period of many years. The original tunes become ever slower and more ornamented until they are completely obscured and forgotten. Most significant of all, this phenomenon is a reproduction in miniature of what happened over a much longer period of time to Gregorian chant, which was also subject to ever-increasing ornamentation and was perpetuated in many areas by oral tradition.

Not only does Amish and Old Colony music exhibit a monody unusual in this era of harmony, but also, it is one of the few examples of nasal singing in contemporary Western culture. Its similarity in ornamental and modal practices to Gregorian chant may also offer further support of the theory advanced by some that Gregorian chant was sung *nasally* until the introduction of natural voice production to the continent from Britain in the late fourteenth century.



This Amish hymn was transcribed by the writer from a recording made by John Umble and Leland Byler in an Amish community near Kalona, Iowa, in 1939. Though beats were superimposed on the melody to facilitate the transcribing, the hymn should by no means be sung in strict time. A horizontal line over certain notes indicates that those notes should be lengthened somewhat; a slanted line between two notes indicates a *portamento,* or slide. The text is found on page 385 of the *Ausbund.*



The upper staff of this example gives a transcription made by the writer at a live performance of the hymn in an Old Colony Mennonite home in Chihuahua, Mexico. The singers were the family of Isaac Fehr of the village of Eichental. The notation is not metrical. The small notes in brackets are the mediants sung by the *Vorsänger* alone. The lower staff gives the original chorale melody, that is, the melody as it was before the Old Colonists added all their ornaments. Careful comparison of the two will show an unmistakable kinship. The original version is No. 141 in the Franz *Choralbuch*. The text is No. 239 in the Old Colony *Gesangbuch*.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE MENNONITES IN WELLAND COUNTY, ONTARIO

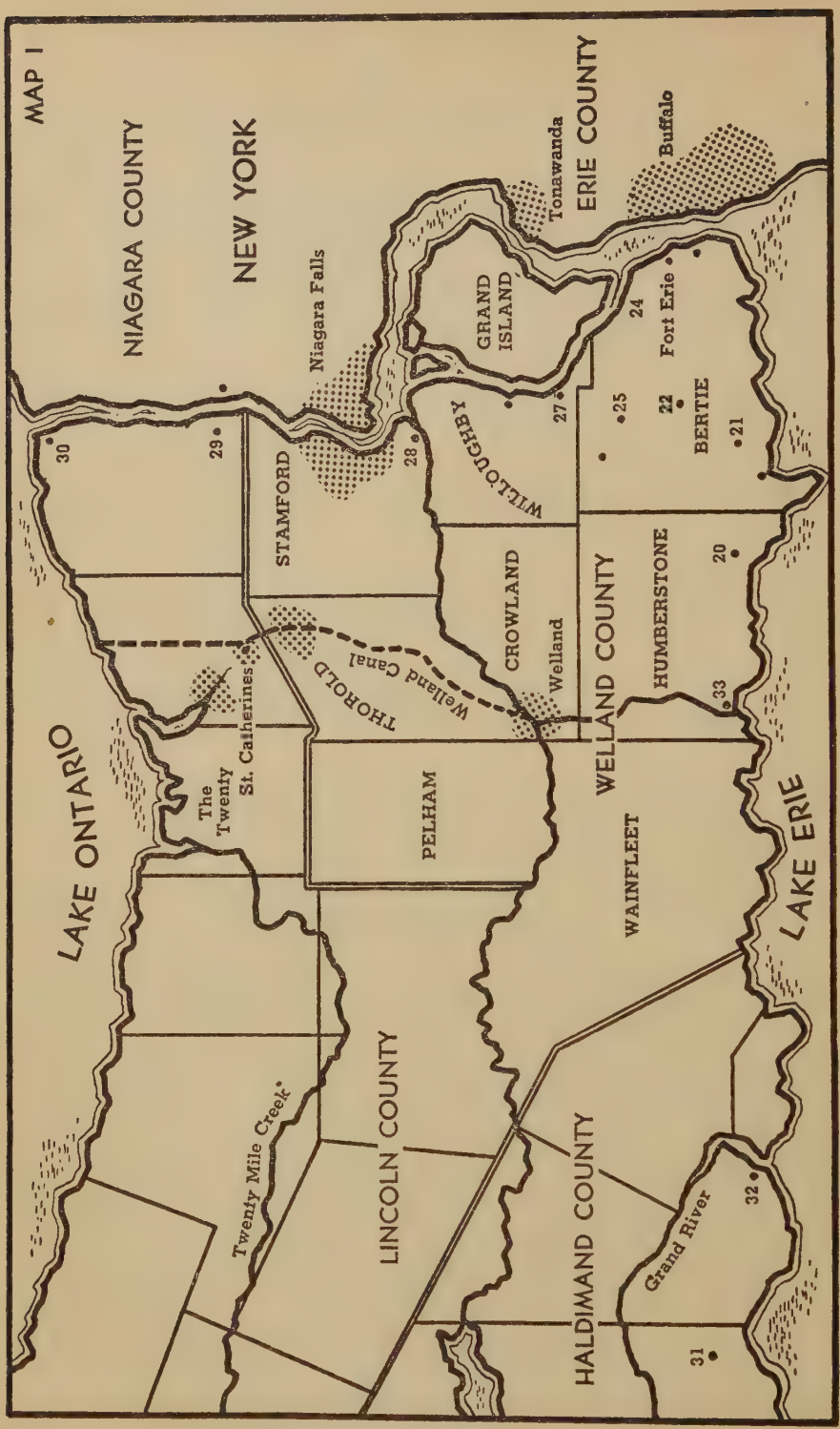
J. C. Fretz

Welland County lies in the southeast portion of the Niagara peninsula of Ontario and is bordered on the south by Lake Erie and on the east by the Niagara River. Just east lies the city of Buffalo. When Sir John Graves Simcoe became the first governor of Upper Canada, in 1792, the Province of Ontario (then Upper Canada) began to be divided into counties and further into townships. In the Niagara peninsula names for the townships were found from these earliest dates. This province, legally a part of Quebec as the Act of 1774 names Canada, had previously been divided into four districts by Lord Dorchester, viz., the Detroit settlement, called Hesse; the Niagara settlement, called Nassau; the Bay of Quinte, Lake Ontario settlement, called Mecklenberg; and the St. Lawrence front in the east, called Lunenberg. The townships now comprising Welland County were a part of Lincoln County until 1865. Then until about 1881 only the townships between the Niagara River and the Welland Canal were called Welland County. Until 1881 seven townships lying between the Twenty Mile Creek and the Grand River were named Monck County.[1]

The first settlers upon their arrival were privileged to take possession of unoccupied land and later to make application to the legislature for land grants. Besides the original homestead of two hundred acres, families approved by the magistrates were granted fifty additional acres for each member of the family. The terms for approval were that it should be a Christian family, that from the time of their arrival there be exemplary exertions as farmers, that they be obedient to the law, and that the petitioner be properly vouched for from the place of previous residence.

During the two decades preceding 1800 a marked increase of population was felt in the peninsula. In the eighties the United Empire Loyalists formed the greater group of these pioneers. In the northern townships next to Lake Ontario, particularly, this was the case. To the Lake Erie townships there came a migration of Quakers as early as 1783, who traveled by ferry across Niagara River from Buffalo Creek and Black Rock to Canadian territory at Fort Erie. By 1792 settlements of these families were found at

[1] See Map 1.


MAP 1
NIAGARA COUNTY
NEW YORK
ERIE COUNTY
Tonawanda
Buffalo
Niagara Falls
GRAND ISLAND
Fort Erie
24
22
25
27
28
29
30
21
BERTIE
WILLOUGHBY
STAMFORD
CROWLAND
Welland
HUMBERSTONE
20
33
WELLAND COUNTY
Welland Canal
THOROLD
St. Catherines
The Twenty
LAKE ONTARIO
PELHAM
WAINFLEET
LAKE ERIE
Twenty Mile Creek
LINCOLN COUNTY
HALDIMAND COUNTY
Grand River
32
31

Key to Map 1

No. 20—Shisler's Point Church
No. 21—Sherkston Church property
No. 22—Barnhart Cemetery and Log Church
No. 23—Hershey Cemetery
No. 24—McAfee Cemetery
No. 25—Haun Cemetery
No. 26—Present Niagara Christian College (Brethren in Christ)
No. 27—Riverside Church
No. 28—Chippewa town
No. 29—Queenston, Opp. Lewiston, U.S.
No. 30—Niagara-on-the-Lake
No. 31—Rainham
No. 32—Cayuga (south)
No. 33—Port Colborne

Black Creek, in Bertie Township; and at the Short Hills in Pelham Township. A comparison of early immigration to eight townships northwest of Fort Erie is interesting. Bertie Township granted 34,347 acres of land; the heaviest immigrations were in 1796-98 and 1801-03. Humberstone Township granted 24,629 acres of land; the heaviest immigrations were 1797-98 and 1801-02. Willoughby Township granted 18,069 acres of land; by 1798 over two thirds of it was taken. Pelham Township granted 39,031 acres of land; the heaviest immigrations were in 1797-98. Wainfleet Township granted 30,882 acres of land; migrations were chiefly in 1796-97, 1802, and 1809. Stamford Township granted 22,881 acres of land; the heaviest immigrations were 1796, 1798, and 1801. Crowland Township granted 19,986 acres of land; the chief immigrations were in 1797 and 1802. Thorold Township granted 24,190 acres of land; the heaviest immigrations were 1796-98, 1801, and 1803.

The American Revolutionary War (1775-83) had brought weighty questions to the attention of Mennonites in Pennsylvania. Would they still be granted the same religious liberties after independence as were enjoyed under the British Crown? Was it right to pay war taxes? On the principle of nonresistance they were unanimous, though they were under suspicion for not arraying themselves against the British in the Revolution. The westward movement from Pennsylvania which followed brought into Canada numbers of Mennonite families. The immigration before 1800 was stronger into Canada than to the settlements south and west of the lakes. Doubtless, one reason for immigration to Canada is found in the "Exemptions from bearing arms as under the ancient Government of British States" given by Governor Simcoe to the members of the Society of Friends, May, 1792, and in the next year granted to Quakers, Mennonites, and Tunkers.[2] Those who came to Ontario showed their preference for British laws and British freedom.[3] Though they were often called Loyalists, the time of their

[2] From Part 1, The Military Laws, Public Library, Niagara Falls, Ont.
[3] From *Papers and Records,* Ontario Historical Society, Vol. XXIV.

arrival did not coincide with that of the Loyalists who were of British extraction.

Evidences of Early Settlements

That Mennonites were early settlers in Canada is shown by the "Memorial of the Inhabitants at Sugar Loaf" which states

That near 100 families are now settled in that quarter (round the point called Sugar Loaf above Fort Erie) on lands not yet surveyed subject from this circumstance to the many inconveniences attending their situation, particularly to disputes about Limits and Encroachments the one on the other.

Therefore most humbly supplicating your Excellency will have the goodness to order a Survey to be made of their lands with such dispatch as you in your wisdom may see fit. Newark, March 30, 1793. Signed—Abrm. Laing, Joel W. Morris, Wilson Doan, Eliza Doan, Nathan Havens, Jos. Havens, Azaliah Schooley, Jehoida Schooley, John Harret, John Cutler, Peter Carver, Amos Morris, Jas. Wilson, Sam'l Wilson, John Braley, Wm. Cook, Asa Schooley, Christopher Richards, Jas. Edsall, Daniel Forsyth, Michael Shark, Jas. Edsall, Christian Troyer, Jason Millard, Dan Millard, Heart South, Thos. Millard, Titus Doan, Enos Doan.

Endorsed: That Direction be given by ye Surveyor Genl. to carry it into Execution as soon as possible.

Read in Council, 10 July, 1793.[4]

Among these petitioners are names of Mennonites and Quakers who settled about Sugar Loaf Point some fifteen miles west of Fort Erie. In the following extracts taken from Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, Vol. XXIV, Parliament Buildings, Toronto, Ontario, we shall notice other names of Mennonite ancestry.

(a) I hereby certify that Jacob Sevitz came into this Province in the year 1788, his family with him.—John Warren, J. P. Jacob and wife Catharine, Elizabeth, George, Mary, Barbara, Henry (5 children). Endorsed: Rec'd. 25 April 1797.

Recommended for 300 acres family land.

(b) Jacob Sevitz came in 1788 with his wife and five children and had received 200 acres in the Township of Wainfleet. Before Apr. 1797 he never received any family lands.

(c) Abraham Neaff came in 1790—to Humberstone Township (Sugar Loaf). Abraham Neaff petitioned for Lot 29, Sugar Loaf East, now Humberstone. Petition rec'd July 12, 1794, granted if vacant."

(d) Petition of John Troyer who came from Pennsylvania 1789, permitted by Colonel Hunter to settle on any unlocated land in the Province.

He went to Long Point Bay, sixty miles west of the Grand River and purchased an improvement for fifty pounds (unsurveyed land). Rebellious Americans took away all he had before coming to this province to enjoy peace under His Majesty's Good Laws.

It is against the Tenets of his Profession to bear arms, he has no objection to employ his Team in any services of Government, either civil or military.

[4] *Ibid.*, (46), 126.

(e) Petition of Christian Troyer, who came 1789 with his brother John, settled in Long Point Bay under the same Order with his Brother. A wife and six children—prays—additional grant to accommodate his family.

Newark, 18 Aug. 1795.

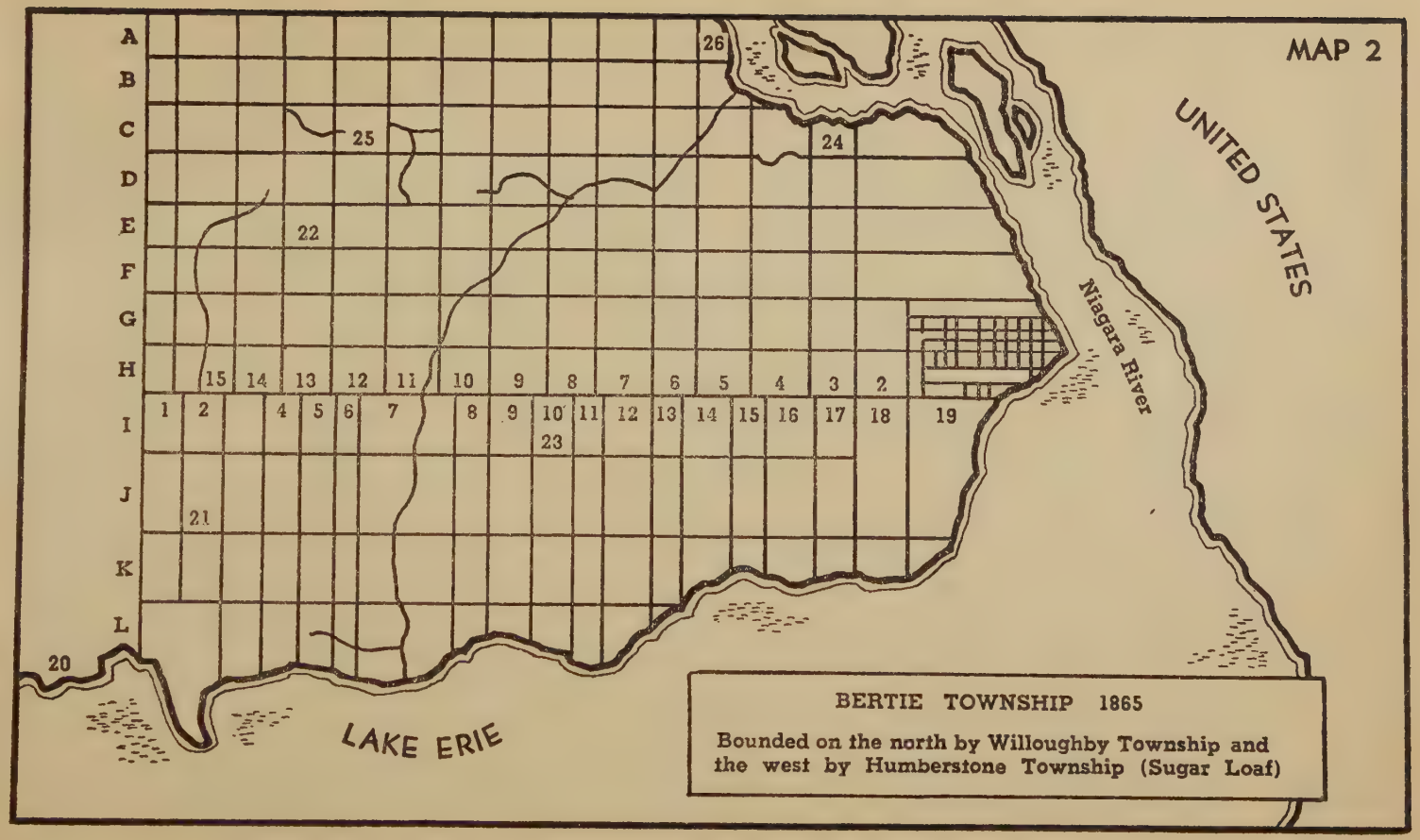
The early history of nonresistant people in this country shows how the various groups were associated. The families came mainly from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Verification of this fact is at hand because the names of Hershey, Zavitz, Sherk, Fretz, Moyer, Wismer, Kratz, Lehman, Shearer, Greiner appear, and records of intermarriages in the early days show that the Learns, Houses, Neffs, and Beams also came from Lancaster.[5] The Mennonites were evidently in the majority in early settlements. Intermarriages among Quakers, Mennonites, and Tunkers were more common than in recent years. There is evidence that formerly they worshiped together. Worship in homes preceded church erection. The son-in-law of Preacher George Zavitz (Mennonite) was a Tunker and led the singing of his father-in-law's meetings. Mennonites and Quakers of the pioneers were found buried in the same cemetery. Family names once Mennonite may be found in the records of Tunker and Quaker congregations later.

Family burying grounds are usually common in these townships. The reasons for this may be that the settlements preceded the dates of church property and that the families also were well scattered throughout the townships. Both at Stevensville and at Black Creek community churches were used by the Mennonites for worship. The Hershey burying ground east of Ridgeway near the Garrison Road is on the property given by John B. Hershey and intended for a church. The Zavitz family plot is north of Sherkston and the Garrison Road. The Fretz homestead set aside its private plot. On the Haun homestead west of Stevensville is an acre for cemetery. The McAfee cemetery is situated on the river road a few miles north of Fort Erie. On the Barnhardt property near the Stevensville log church is a small area reserved for burial purposes. In Willoughby Township family plots were used by the Millers, the Waites, the Willicks, the Boyers, the Lees, and a number of others.[6]

In Welland County there were three places of worship, with a fourth occasionally used by Mennonites. One of these was a com-

[5] From Family Histories, Family Records, Genealogies of Fretz, Wismer, Moyer, Kratz.

[6] See Map 2.


MAP 2
UNITED STATES
Niagara River
LAKE ERIE
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
BERTIE TOWNSHIP 1865
Bounded on the north by Willoughby Township and
the west by Humberstone Township (Sugar Loaf)

PROPERTY HOLDERS IN BERTIE TOWNSHIP 1865,

bearing family names of Mennonites, Tunkers, and Quakers

Key to Map 2

A-15—M. Beam; Samuel Beam.
A-14—W. Near; M. Wilhelm; M. Sour; W. Haun.
A-13—Henry Stoltz; A. Barnhart; G. Eberly.
A-12—G. House; Peter Schisler.
A-11—Peter Winger
A-10—Richard
A-9—Adem Beam
A-8—L. Krafft; J. Krafft; J. Morningstar.
A-7—Martin Everts
A-6—E. Miller; Jacob Miller.
A-5—Jacob Miller (dot-Niagara Christian College)
B-16—Henry Beam
B-15—Henry Beam; Peter House.
B-14—P. Barnhart; G. Eberly; Jacob House (dot-Log Church)
B-13—Geo. Eberly
B-12—Geo. Eberly
B-11—Peter Schisler
B-10—Kirkpatrick
B-9—J. Winger; Conrad Schisler; S. Morningstar
B-8—A. Beam; M. Neas
B-7—J. House; J. Miller
B-6—Andrew Miller; Edward Miller
B-5—Edward Miller; B. Miller
C-16—H. Johnson; Benj. Winger
C-15—Jacob Sider; Abr. Winger
C-14—Abr. Sider
C-13—Nelson Haun; Wilson Haun
C-12—B. Beam; Michael Baker. (dot-Stevensville)
C-11—M. Climenbaga; B. Barnhart; B. House
C-10—D. Sider
C-8—Zimmerman; H. C. Anger
C-6—Everet Miller; J. Anguish
C-5—B. F. Miller; J. Schisler; David Schisler
C-4—Ed. Hershey; Ben Hershey
D-16—W. Johnson
D-15—J. Fretz; S. Fretz
D-14—Eli Danner; C. Sherk
D-13—Michael Baker; Martin Baker
D-12—Michael Baker
D-11—M. Climenhaga; D. Barnhart; P. Barnhart; Benj House
D-10—D. Climenhaga
D-9—J. Winger; Jos. Seal
D-8—John Miller
D-6—J. Boyer
D-5—Ed. Hershey
D-4—Hershey
E-15—C. Sherk; John Sherk
E-14—D. Fretz; J. Sherk; B. Sherk
E-13—J. Carver; P. Barnhart
E-12—J. Strohm; Robert Johnson
E-11—N. Steele
E-10—J. Krafft
E-9—Jos. Seal; Henry Near
E-8—John Miller
E-7—J. Emerich
E-4—Peter E. Miller
E-2—Forsyth
F-16—C. Bither
F-15—Andrew Sherk; J. Sherk
F-14—Peter Learn J.P.
F-13—Jonas Beam
F-11—Isaac Huffman
F-10—Dr. McMicking
F-9—Geo. Schrigley
F-4—Peter E. Miller; B. Troup
F-3—Wm. Dunn; M. Morris
F-2—John Warren; Henry Wintermute
G-16—S. Zavitz; S. Fretz; J. Fretz
G-15—S. Zavitz; S. Fretz; J. Fretz; W. M. Church
G-14—R. Learn; (Sherks Cemetery) J. Zavitz
G-13—John Zavitz, Jr.
G-9—Isaac Huffman; G. Huffman
G-7—Peter Cregar; Broch Lee
G-5—Mary Whitemute
G-4—G. Hershey
G-3—J. B. Hershey
G-2—J. B. Hershey
H-16—N. Sherk
H-15—J. I. Zavitz; M. Zavitz; P. Learn
H-14—J. Zavitz; N. Zavitz; H. Zavitz
H-13—J. Zavitz; A. Johnson; (mill.)
H-12—R. Wilson; A. Johnson
H-11—P. Anger H-10—J. Anger
H-9—Ben Sherk H-8—Conrad Jansen
H-7—P. Jansen; J. Jansen; J. Jansen
H-5—Henry Troup; Philip Troup
H-1—Fort Erie town
I-1—Fannie Zavitz; P. Zavitz
I-2—M. Zavitz; A. Learn
I-3—Joseph Cutler
I-4—Josiah Bearss
I-5—J. Adam Barnhart
I-7—Mrs. R. Hershey; J. Yoka; George Hoffman
I-8—J. Cuttler
I-9—J. D. Hershey; Enos Disher
I-10—J. H. Hershey; Philip Nigh
I-11—S. Winger; Jacob Jansen
I-13—Richard Graham; J. P.
I-14—Richard Graham; J. P.
I-15—John Hershey
J-1—A. Schooley; J. Sherk; L. Doan
J-2—Elias Morningstar; A. Learn
J-3—B. Sherk, Jr.; I. Schooley
J-5—Alex Haun; Wm. Anger
J-7—R. Wilson; J. J. Moore; A. Wilson; J. Sherk
J-8—John Cuttler
J-9—J. B. Hershey J-10—B. Johnson
J-13—J. Wintemute K-1—Jonas Sherk
K-2—D. Sherk K-3—J. B. Schooley
K-5—Abram Sherk K-6—P. Sherk
K-8—John House K-9—Alex Haun
K-10—James Haun K-11—A. Haun
K-12—D. Wintemute
L-1—John Neff
L-2—Benj. Sherk, Jr.
L-3—John Sherk
L-4—James Haun L-5—Matthias Haun
L-7—Isaac Haun; Jacob Clous
L-8—John House
L-9—Alex Haun L-10—James Haun

munity church on the McAfee cemetery property; another was the Riverside Church north of Black Creek; the third was the log church west of Stevensville used principally by Mennonites. The main center of worship was the church one mile east of Sherkston.[7]

It is clear that soon after the deed of property was received in 1828, by the Mennonite minister and deacon, who were trustees for the congregation at Sherkston, a log church building was erected. This became the first Mennonite house of worship in Bertie Township, and served for about thirty years. The Willoughby Church at the Niagara River, seven miles south of Chippawa, nine miles south of Niagara Falls, was erected by public subscription in the community in 1827.[8] It served as church and school for many years. The Mennonites, being in the majority among those religiously inclined, used it most regularly.

Below is the deed of the Sherkston church property.

A memorial to be registered according to an Act of Legislature of the Province of Upper Canada of a Deed of bargain and sale bearing date the 15th day of May in the year of our Lord, 1828, and made by and between SAMUEL SHERK of the township of Bertie in the county of Lincoln in the district of Niagara and province of Upper Canada, of the one part, and George Zavitz of the said township yeoman and Peter Sherk of the township of Humberstone in the county of Lincoln district and province aforesaid yeoman of the other part.

Whereby said Samuel Sherk for and in consideration of twenty pounds of current money to me by the said George Zavitz and Peter Sherk in hand paid and the receipt thereof is acknowledged and confessed and have granted, bargained, sold, aliened and confirmed unto the said George Zavitz and Peter Sherk and their heirs forever.

All and singular that certain piece or parcel of land lying and being situated in the township of Bertie in the county of Lincoln the district of Niagara and the Province of Upper Canada.

Being composed of part of Lot number 35 in the first concession of the said township of Bertie, containing by admeasurement two acres which said two acres are butted and bounded as follows . . . (which said piece or parcel of land is to be reserved by the said George Zavitz and Peter Sherk and their heirs for a burying ground for the Mennonite Society forever).

To have and to hold the same with the apurtenances freed and discharged from all incumberances whatsoever.

Unto the said George Zavitz and Peter Sherk and their heirs to the sale and proper use benefit and behoof of the George Zavitz and Peter Sherk and their heirs forever.

Which said deed of bargain and sale is witnessed by Joseph Sherk yeoman of the township of Bertie aforesaid and Isaac H. Johnston, Schoolmaster, of the township of Humberstone aforesaid,

In the memorial thereof is hereby required to be registered by us the Trustees thereby named.

[7] See Map 1 and 2.

[8] Subscription Record Willoughby School & Church.

Uniting our hands and seals at Humberstone aforesaid the day and year first above written signed and sealed in the presence of

Joseph Sherk
H. Johnston

George Zavitz
Peter Sherk

Pioneers and Early Settlers of Welland County

In Bertie Township the earliest Mennonite pioneer was Jacob Sevitz who came in 1788. The next year came John and Christian Troyer who continued their journey more than a hundred miles west to Long Point on Lake Erie. Among the hundred names listed for grants of land in 1793 are Peter Carver, John Braley, Enos, Titus and Wilson Doan, and Benjamin Hershey who came from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1795.[9] Abram and Christian Hershey came at about the same time. The father of Benjamin Sherk, born in Bertie in 1796, came from Lancaster County. Peter Zavitz appears to have been an early pioneer also. Other names appearing before 1800 are Matthias Horn (Haun), Philip Bender, and Abram Wintemute. After 1800 there came into Bertie Township, George, Benjamin, and John & Peter Wintemute, William Haun, Jacob Haun, Frederic House, Jacob Johnson, David Bearss, John Barnheart, Peter Learn, and Jacob and Benjamin Morningstar.

The settlers coming into Humberstone (Sugar Loaf) Township before 1800 were James and Frederic House; John, Abram, and Jacob Neave (Neff); Jacob and Adam Bowman; and Jacob Huffman. After that came John and Henry Neaffe, John and Christian House, Joseph and Moses Doan, Joseph Haun, Jasper Shirk, and Christian Kniseley.

Those seeking land grants before 1800 in Wainfleet were Christian, Henry, and Samuel Sevitz; Abram and John Overholt; and John Martin, who obtained theirs about 1809.

In Willoughby Township Abram Beam, John Shoup, Martin Beam, and John Winger came earliest. Those given grants in 1802 and later were Christian Shoup, John Sherk, George House, Henry Huber-Bowman, and Jacob Miller.

In Pelham Township in 1794 Peter Simmerman and his associates obtained grants of two-hundred-acre farms near the Twenty Mile Creek. Martin Overholt and Jacob Miller also settled there before 1800; and Peter Weaver, Philip Miller, and John Bowman came soon after.

[9] L. J. Burkholder, *Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario* (Markham, Ont., 1935).

The leader of the Bertie congregation from an early date was George Zavitz. He was a son of the Jacob Zavitz who came to Canada in 1788. This minister (d. 1858) was held in high esteem by his followers who called him "the peacemaker." His leadership was recognized in both the Black Creek and the Sherkston congregations. Colaborers in Sherkston were his brother John and his son-in-law John Hershey.[10]

John Zavitz (1798-1872) was a minister of amiable disposition, seventeen years younger than George. After the death of George, he took a leading part in the guidance of the little flock at Black Creek, though he lived in Bertie. Since he performed baptisms and marriages, he was regarded as bishop by a number of those who remembered him. This is not fully verified since other ministers at Black Creek are said to have baptized at the river. John Zavitz sometimes preached in English. His sermons were appealing because of his sincerity in manner and presentation.[10]

John B. Hershey (1816-1904) was most active in his ministry for the Mennonite Church during the life of George Zavitz. The congregation at Bertie was under the supervision of Bishop John Lapp after the death of George Zavitz. The home of John Hershey was open to the ministers from Clarence, New York, who came occasionally and also attended the semiannual meeting. Many a Scriptural discussion continuing late into the night is credited to these men. Doubtless they did not have the advantages of church periodicals then to help them in points of doctrine.[10]

Hershey lived on a farm east of Ridgeway and gave the land for the cemetery.[10] His intentions were to have a church built there, probably in the sixties at the time of the erection of the brick church at Sherkston. His plan lacked support and never developed. He used English in his preaching. Later in life, however, he was quite inactive as a minister. His closing years were spent with his daughters at Fort Erie until his death in 1904.

The first deacon at Sherkston was probably Peter Sherk. We learn of him first as a trustee of the church property in 1828. He is thought to have been a man of decided influence and renown in his time. Upon his death in 1853 his son Benjamin succeeded him to the office of deacon. Benjamin Sherk (1836-68) served the congregation during a period of comparative strength.

Before 1860 the first log church was replaced by a brick meetinghouse. The labors of George Zavitz had tended toward peace during the years preceding his death in 1858. It was unfortunate

[10] See Map 2.

that after the close of his life the seeds of discord began to be manifest. Early experiences in the new church found John Zavitz advanced in years, and a feeling favoring the leadership of John B. Hershey was not strong enough to be unanimous.

Bishop John Lapp, an active minister at Clarence Center, New York, east of Buffalo, had served many times in the Bertie congregation. By agreement in the Sherkston congregation he was requested to assume the responsibilities of leadership. That he was deeply concerned for the welfare of this group is shown by his call in the *Herald of Truth,* March, 1865, for pastoral help. The letter reads as follows:

Harris Hill, Jan. 31, 1865
To John F. Funk—

Now there is a place for anyone who is thus changing his residence, or has been thrown out of a situation and a home by the above-mentioned recent calamities in Virginia, at Shirk's Crossing in Canada, about 12 miles from Buffalo, where he would be very welcome and acceptable indeed. There is a small congregation of Mennonite brethren there, who have as yet no minister but are longing for a man to break them the bread of life. I believe if such a man who has the gift of God to speak, both in the German and English language, should settle there, that through the Grace of God the church would increase very fast.

They have a good comfortable brick Meeting-house, a fine situation, and a fruitful soil; and I know they would be very thankful if some such one should move there, and they would also be willing to assist him if he was in need of it. Should anyone desire to visit the place in view I would be very happy to go with him. I live 16 miles north-east of Buffalo, and one and a half miles north of Harris Hill in Erie County, N.Y.

John Lapp

It is known that John Lapp served west of the river in the capacity of bishop in 1864. Appointments for the autumn communion had been made for John M. Brenneman, Indiana, to be present at Clarence, Erie County, New York; Bertie, Welland County, Ontario; Cayuga, Haldimand County, Ontario; and the Twenty, Lincoln County, Ontario. Circumstances prevented Brenneman's coming and Bishop Lapp proceeded to conduct the special services at each of the appointments. At Sherkston it was a midweek service. Lapp's intense interest in this congregation and in the families west of the river was constant during the remainder of his life. It was not only at the special occasions semiannually, but at frequent intervals that he served the church here. His last public service was conducted in this county. While called to take charge of a funeral at Black Creek, he became seriously ill, and death followed at his home a few days later.

As seen in an earlier record, Bishop Lapp endorsed the use of the English language. This was not generally granted by the conference of Ontario before 1890. However, there was a continuance of German preaching in Bertie long after the language was out of general use in the community. This has been given most frequently as the reason for the decline in the church. Also the decade of dissension and the break which took form at the Twenty in the Annual Conference of 1889 had their effect in the remotest congregations. In Welland County, Jonas Zavitz, Abram Sherk, and a few other families preferred the conservative viewpoint. The ministers Nelson Michael and Gilbert Bearss with the greater part of the congregation in Bertie favored the action of the conference for a more general use of English preaching, and of Sunday schools and evening services. As there was only this one place of worship in Welland at that date, the membership was weakened by the division of 1889.

Cemeteries

1. Sherkston Cemetery

To the historian, Sherkston cemetery is of vital importance. A century of records, fairly representative, is found here. This has been the chief place of burials for the Sherks and many other leading families of that period. The location was suitably chosen, being on a particular elevation. Among names and facts found on the markers are these:

George Zavitz died May 4, 1859, aged 45 yrs. 2 mo. 20 da.
Frances, wife of George, died Jan. 25, 1885, aged 62 yrs. 1 mo. 20 da.
Peter Sherk, born Aug. 15, 1791, died Nov. 22, 1863.
Sophia, wife of Peter, died Dec. 20, 1895, aged 82 yrs. 1 mo. 2 da.
John Zavitz died March 30, 1872, aged 74 yrs. 1 mo. 30 da.
Nancy, wife of John, died May 16, 1882, aged 79 yrs. 1 mo. 29 da.
Peter Sherk, born May 1, 1814, died June 11, 1889.
Rebecca, wife of Peter, died 1856.
Fanny, wife of Peter, died 1873.
Benjamin Sherk died Feb. 12, 1901, aged 83 yrs. 10 da.
Benjamin Sherk died Dec. 19, 1873, aged 77 yrs. 10 mo. 3 da.
Esther, wife of Benjamin, died July 11, 1879, aged 77 yrs. 9 mo. 5 da.
Abraham Sherk died June 22, 1906, aged 81 yrs. 7 mo. 22 da.
Elizabeth, wife of Abraham, died June 4, 1894, aged 65 yrs. 24 da.
George Storm died Jan. 5, 1879, aged 74 yrs. 8 mo. 18 da.
Eve, wife of George, died Dec. 4, 1884, aged 77 yrs. 10 mo. 5 da.
Jacob Zavitz died Aug. 17, 1888, aged 79 yrs. 11 mo. 10 da.
Peter Zavitz died April 26, 1864, aged 88 yrs. 3 mo.
George Zewitz, born Aug. 18, 1781, died March 1, 1858.
Esther, wife of Abraham Leib, died Aug. 31, 1864, aged 66 yrs. 5 mo. 16 da.

2. Hershey Cemetery

It appears evident that at first this area was used as a family plot. Before 1860 it was intended by John B. Hershey that a church should be built on this property, then a part of his own farm. It seems to be the principal place of burial for the Hershey family. The following are names from the markers here:

Benjamin Hershey, born in Lancaster County 1776, came to Canada 1795, died Nov. 26, 1831.
Abraham Hershey, born Aug. 24, 1770, died Jan. 26, 1856.
Margaret, wife of Abraham, born April 4, 1771, died May 22, 1857.
Christian Hershey, born Oct. 11, 1768, died March 10, 1845, aged 76 yrs.
Mary, wife of Christian, born Dec. 19, 1771, died Jan. 30, 1854.
Rudolph, son of Benjamin of Lancaster, died young.
Rudolph, son of Benjamin (Junior), died young.
John B. Hershey, preacher, died May 29, 1904, aged 88 yrs. 3 mo. 15 da.

3. Cemetery near the Log Church on the Barnhart Property

Within a small enclosure one-half mile west of the Log Church near Stevensville are a few tombstones lying among undergrowth. The names inscribed are:

Magdalena, daughter of Abraham and Magdalena Barnhart, died April 8, 1860, aged 5 yrs. 1 mo. 1 da.
John Carver died July 14, 1868, aged 60 yrs. 7 mo. 12 da.
Catherine, wife of John Carver, died Sept. 15, 1892, aged 88 yrs. 4 mo.
Elizabeth, wife of John Barnhart, died Jan. 30, 1849, aged 69 yrs. 3 mo. 4 da. I Jno. 1:7.
Sarah E., daughter of Benjamin and Rhodah J. House, died Sept. 16, 1865, aged 6 mo. 3 da.

4. Haun Cemetery

Near the west limits of Stevensville on the Haun homestead is a family cemetery in which are a number of graves. Among them are:

Maria, frau von Adam Luckas, died March 13, 1859, aged 23 yrs. 7 mo. 6 da.
George Eberly died Feb. 24, 1870, aged 61 yrs. 5 mo. 18 da.
Julie Ann Aberly died Sept. 14, 1877, aged 70 yrs. 1 mo. 2 da.
Nelson Haun died June 19, 1876, aged 27 yrs. 1 mo. 2 da.
Nelson Haun died June 13, 1878, aged 72 yrs. 1 mo. 28 da.
Mary, wife of Nelson, died July 4, 1888, aged 75 yrs. 4 mo. 12 da.
John H. Haun, born Sept. 11, 1841, died July 4, 1922.
Sarah Haun, born May 13, 1848, died Aug. 12, 1915.
Nelson Haun died Feb. 15, 1879, aged 69 yrs. 4 da.
George Haun died Aug. 9, 1891, in his 50th year.

Also several descendants of Mathias Haun with deaths close together as though a scourge had struck—young children among them.

5. Records in McAfee Cemetery, Bridgeburg

Benjamin Hershey, born May 13, 1794, died June 17, 1872.
Abraham Hershey, born Nov. 5, 1811, died May 13, 1858.
Elizabeth Baxter, wife of Abr. Hershey, born July 12, 1811, died Feb. 11, 1882.
John Miller died April 13, 1844, aged 82 yrs.
Christiana, wife of John Miller, died Aug. 15, 1842, aged 71 yrs.
John Palmer died Sept. 13, 1819.
William Miller, born 1835, died 1892.
Children of E. and Margarett Lee.
Jacob Miller born July 11, 1795, died June 28, 1870.
Son of Abr. and Elizabeth Hershey died April 11, 1838.
Clarissa, wife of H. Hershey, died July 25, 1852, in 25th year.
A German inscription—warde geboren 1741, gestarben 1820.
Other names: Everitt, House, Howse, Gonder, Booth, Haskins, Wood, Murray, Glinnick, Chudley, Erch, Hendershot, Raymonds.

Early Ordained Men in Welland County

Gilbert Bearss was born July 4, 1848, of a Bertie Township family. His wife was Louisa Jane Doan, whom he married in 1869. She was born in 1848 and died in 1932. In 1885 he was ordained to the ministry of the Mennonite Church. Though he was not a fluent speaker, he endeavored to serve faithfully in his calling. For the active part of his ministry he lived in Bertie and served at Sherkston. Later for a number of years with his family he farmed near Vineland. In 1917 he returned to Sherkston where he maintained a small home until in recent years when he has been at home with his daughter in the city of Welland. The family was of Reformed Mennonite and Quaker ancestry. His brother and a near descendant became outstanding ministers in the Church of the Brethren. Brother Bearss has given useful aid in the church in Welland County. In his preaching he used English only. In his family were two sons and one daughter.[10]

Benjamin Hershey was born in 1826. He was a brother of "Doctor" John B. Hershey. In marriage he was united to Magdalena Dausman who was born in 1809. This union was blessed with seven children. In 1844 he was called to the ministry in Bertie Township. In 1850 he moved with his family to Elkhart County, Indiana. He then lived for some time at Sterling, Illinois, where he was ordained bishop in 1870. Later he moved to Missouri when the colony was opened at Clarence. He organized the congregation near Cherry Box. Here he lived until his death in 1888.

11 Burkholder, 291.

Christian Hershey was a pioneer minister in the Welland field. He is recognized as fellow minister with George Zavitz in a letter by Bishop Jacob Moyer in 1831. Whether he was the pioneer Christian who was born in 1768 and died in 1845, or whether he was eldest brother of Bishop Benjamin has not been verified.

John B. Hershey was born Feb. 14, 1816, a son of Benjamin Hershey of Lancaster County. He was married to Salome Zavitz, a daughter of Preacher George Zavitz, in 1840. He had two sons and three daughters. He was twice married. During his active career he lived on a farm at Fort Erie, and later at the Hershey cemetery. He was a great reader and somewhat of a scholar. Some time after middle life he is said to have withdrawn from the ministry of the Mennonite Church.

He practiced the doctoring of cancer until as an aged man he declined to continue this service. He died in 1904. His funeral was conducted by a cousin, Benjamin Hershey, who, though not ordained, preached locally, moving later to Dresden, Western Ontario.

Nelson Michael was born in 1843 and was ordained to the ministry in 1875. He was a stout man, clean-shaven, and of quiet disposition. He preached English only, and his efforts were faithful though given with difficulty. His wife was Sarah Sherk, who was born in 1845 and died in 1906. They had a family of several children. He always lived near Sherkston on his farm, where he died in 1923. The Michael ancestors were Lutheran.

Jacob Miller was born Feb. 21, 1772. His wife was Barbara Hershey. They came from York County, Pennsylvania. A German Bible now in possession of a descendant was printed in 1776. It shows purchase by Jacob Miller, Maryland, 1787. In 1804 he became a pioneer on the River Road seven miles south of Niagara Falls, and bought a farm of several hundred acres. To this he added two farms east of the Grand River in Waterloo County. He was a minister of the Mennonite Church. Whether his ordination took place before or after his immigration to Canada has not been verified. He had a family of five children, two of whom lived on the Waterloo property. It is said that he made frequent trips on horseback to preach in Waterloo County. Barbara Hershey was born July 27, 1771, and died Aug. 10, 1840. Jacob Miller died Aug. 3, 1841. He lies in the Miller cemetery on the property. His will has been preserved and bears valuable historical data.[12]

[12] See Burkholder, 91.

Peter Sherk was born May 1, 1814, and died June 11, 1889. He was ordained a minister for the Mennonite Church at Bertie but declined to serve. He is reported as son of Deacon Peter Sherk. This man was first married to Rebecca Bearss, who died in 1856. His second wife was Fanny Sherk. She died in 1873. He was then married to Magdalene, daughter of Henry Miller and widow of John Emerich. She was born in 1826 and died in 1903. See burials in Sherkston cemetery.

George Storm was born April 18, 1804, and died Jan. 5, 1879. His wife was Eve Beam. She was born in 1807 and died in 1884. There was a large family of children. He was an amiable active deacon at Sherkston. In appearance he was slim and tall and clean-shaven.

Martin Weaver was born April 1, 1814, and died Oct. 17, 1887. In 1846 he was married to Susan Miller (1822-1902). Their family consisted of four sons and a daughter. Probably before 1870 he was ordained a minister by Bishop John Lapp by lot. He was a man well informed in the Scriptures but never preached. The homestead was on the River Road near the Riverside Church north of Boyer's Creek. He was among the last of the Mennonites in the Riverside community.

Joseph Willick was one of three brothers who came from Germany to Canada as Roman Catholic conscientious objectors to military service. Two of the brothers became Mennonites. He died July 8, 1872. In 1833 he married Esther, daughter of John Boyer. He homesteaded on the Sodon Road, two miles south of Chippawa. There were six sons and five daughters in their family. He was a deacon in the Mennonite Church. He was known for greatheartedness and gentle disposition. The home was noted for its hospitality. Services were frequently, if not regularly, held in the immediate community and in his home.[13]

Samuel Lapp was a deacon who early moved to Freeport, Illinois, where his brother, Martin, was a minister. His wife was Esther Hershey, eldest daughter of Benjamin Hershey of Lancaster.

George Zavitz was born Aug. 18, 1781, and died March 1, 1858. He and one sister were children when their parents, Jacob Zavitz and wife, came to Bertie from Lancaster. His ordination was about 1825. He was married shortly after 1800. It is known that there were two daughters. He was an active father in Israel,

[13] Burkholder, *op. cit.*, 47.

winning the name of peacemaker in the church. The German language was used by him in preaching.

John Zavitz was born Jan. 31, 1798, and died March 30, 1872. His wife, Nancy Harris, was born in 1803 and died in 1882. He was a son of pioneer Jacob Zavitz. The time of his ordination is not known. He preached English and was a gifted speaker. In appearance he was short with curly hair. There were several children. Whether he was a bishop is not fully verified, but he conducted baptisms. He was particularly faithful in the care of the Black Creek Riverside Church. After his death that congregation declined in membership.

Jonas Zavitz was born March 26, 1846, and died Jan. 17, 1920. In 1868 he was united in marriage to Mary Knisley. There were four sons and two daughters in the family. He united with the Mennonite Church in 1877. About 1880 he became a deacon of the church. He was gifted as a song leader and in later life used the English language in his exhortations. The families of Jonas Zavitz, Abram Sherk, and Frank Beam were the latest adherents of the Old Order Mennonite element in Welland County.

Benjamin Sherk was born Feb. 28, 1836, and died Sept. 24, 1868. He was a son of Deacon Peter Sherk. The date of his ordination as deacon is not known. His wife, Esther, was born in 1801 and died in 1879.

John Wenger was recognized as a deacon of the Mennonite Church in 1819 when Bishop Groff of Markham sent alms money for a needy brother in Bertie. It is conclusive that this was not John Winger, founder of the Brethren in Christ (known as Tunkers in Canada) as this organizer was not among the Mennonites who transferred their membership with the growth of the Brethren in Christ Church. John Wenger evidently lived in the Black Creek settlement north of Bertie Township.

It is conclusive that the harmony of the congregation in Bertie was not repeatedly disrupted to the extent that it was at the Twenty, yet there were influences being exerted there that did not prove strengthening to the organization. Some time in the fifties Daniel Hoch of the Twenty was invited to do evangelistic work in the churches of the peninsula. His labors among them were at least sufficiently general to bring him recognition. Nothing is known of a definite immediate organization resulting. Evangelistic efforts by the Methodist society had been fairly regular for some years previously. Young people of Mennonite homes were among the inter-

ested attendants at those special spiritual assemblies. The foundations of what came to be strong religious bodies were laid in this manner. Particularly was this true with the Methodist, the United Brethren, and the Evangelical Societies of the Niagara peninsula.

Other Mennonite Groups

1. The Mennonite Brethren in Christ

Evidently the ministerial efforts of Daniel Hoch of Lincoln, John Steckly of Markham, and Menno Bowman of Waterloo left some results in Bertie Township. Some are of the opinion that the latter man had a greater influence here than Hoch. Hoch's followers, after the sixties, were absorbed into the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church which in 1875 organized the scattered dissentive Mennonite groups of Ontario into one society. Titus Sherk, one of the earliest resident members of this persuasion, says the work began early in the seventies with ministers from the Twenty responsible for its care. The active period of growth, according to Elder Goudie, who was resident pastor about 1891, was during the years from 1890 to 1900. The organization is said to have been effected by the aid of Preacher Daniel Brenneman of Indiana who labored for a brief time at Sherkston. There were two houses of worship in use. One was north of Garrison Road, known as Siders, near the home of Preacher John Sider. The other church stood at the lake shore near Schisler's Point. In it services continued for the longer time. It was disposed of, about 1900, to the Brethren in Christ. Organized work was then discontinued as only a few families remained.

2. The Reformed Mennonites

This organization took rise after the years of immigration. The first settlement of this sect was made east of the Niagara River in Erie County. The organizer, Bishop John Herr, made his first visit to this colony in 1833, and in the same year received seventy persons into church fellowship at Humberstone, the township west of Bertie. Here the main church in Ontario was organized at that time. The early church leaders ordained at that time were John and Abram Stoner, and deacons Benjamin Morningstar and Jonas Sherk.

3. General Conference Mennonites

While Daniel Hoch of the Twenty was a leader with J. H. Oberholtzer and others in the organization of the General Conference Mennonites, yet we cannot attribute to him, chiefly, the leadership of its interests in Welland County. Jacob Krehbiel, grandson of the bishop of the Mennonites in Erie County, New York, was ordained minister of the Mennonites at Clarence Center in 1872. Severing his old relations he soon became a leader in the western New York General Conference Mennonite group. His ministry frequently, for some years regularly, brought him into Welland County. He preached at the Log Church used by Mennonites, west of Stevensville, with occasional appointments in other Bertie Township churches, and at Black Creek. About 1880 Jacob Krehbiel severed his connection with the Mennonite Conference of Ontario. The regularity of his preaching in Ontario still continued, and a group known as the Krehbielites were worshiping at the Log Church. Then a church was built in Stevensville by this body. Abraham Johnson, Jacob Danner, Jacob House, and Peter Eberly became leading supporters of the movement. It is said that the two former were appointed minister and deacon in the new organization. However the new church did not flourish for long. Krehbiel's interest east of the river drew him to the General Conference Mennonites with whom he united. A congregation was established near his home at Clarence Center. This church received the greater part of his interest in his declining years.

Jacob Krehbiel sold the church at Stevensville to a private owner some time before his death, and it was converted into a dwelling. In 1928 a part of it was made into a chapel and rented to the Church of God.

4. The Old Order (Wisler) Mennonites

The six or more families who held the more conservative position after the Wisler division of 1889 had only one leader, Deacon Jonas Zavitz. At no time had there been a resident minister among these. Preaching services were held when ministers from the Twenty, in Lincoln County, or from South Cayuga in Haldimand County, came to fill appointments. This did not serve sufficiently to assure the life of the congregation. As the older members died, the numbers declined. Since then little, if any, work has been done by the Wisler Conference in Welland County. For several years there has been no membership.

Mennonite Leadership in Welland County, 1870-90

There is said to have been an ordination of a minister, Peter Sherk (1814-89), to serve in this period of the church. It is also asserted that this man, though ordained, never was active in his office because he felt himself unequal to the calling. Martin Weaver, a resident of the Black Creek neighborhood, is reported as ordained to the ministry for the Mennonite Church about 1865. It is said that Weaver never filled an appointment in the pulpit, feeling his incapacity. However, he was a wise counselor with a knowledge of the Word of God and a good neighbor and visitor. Lack of leadership in these ways was part of the cause for decline in the Mennonite membership of Welland County. Peter Storm (1804-79) was the deacon responsible for the work from the death of Benjamin Sherk, 1868, until his death. He was an active and a very congenial man. Nelson Michael (1843-1923) was ordained to the ministry for Sherkston in 1875. He was a devout Christian of Lutheran parentage who found preaching a laborious task. It was on behalf of this brother that conference planned for concerted action toward financial aid. Three brethren were appointed, one from the Markham district, one from the Waterloo district, and one from the Welland district, to act as trustees. A subscription was raised by members of the Mennonite Church to which Nelson Michael contributed some four hundred dollars for the purchase of a farm for himself. The conference subscription amounted to more than a thousand dollars. The plan was that the minister could use the farm during his life and leave it to the conference, or he could pay off the loan and own the farm. This money he repaid to the trustees of the conference, who were then to dispense with it among needy ministers at the direction of conference.

Peter Sherk was born Aug. 15, 1791, and died Nov. 22, 1853. His deacon appointment according to the list of 1828 was before that date. He was twice married and had a family of nine sons and two daughters. The name of his first wife is not known. His second wife, Sophia, was born in 1813 and died in 1895. One daughter was the wife of Jacob Zavitz, an active Mennonite of Bertie, and the other was married to a Stump in Indiana.

1837—Papers of Michael Gonder

Taken from the Memorandum of Assessment for Willoughby Township—

Peter Sailer	Mennonist	over 16—f1 m3	under—f3 m2
Jacob Morningstar	Mennonist	over 16—f2 m2	under—f4 m1
John Beam	Mennonist	over 16—f4 m1	under—f2 m2
David Waggener	Mennonist	over 16—f4 m2	under—f2 m1
Martin Sheup	Mennonist	over 16—f4 m1	under—f8 m3
John Boyer	Mennonist	over 16—f4	under—f0 m2
John Barnhart	Mennonist	over 16—f2	
Martin Cider	Tunker	over 16—f1 m0	under—f2 m4
Henry Glimenhage	Tunker	over 16—f1 m0	under—f2 m1
Abraham Flag	Mennonist	over 16—f1 m1	under—f2 m2
Benjamin Morningstar	Mennonist	over 16—f1	under—f2
Adam Neigh	Mennonist	over 16—f1	under—f5 m2
Nicholas Neigh	Mennonist	over 16—f1	under— m1
Jacob Barnhart	Mennonist	over 16—f1	under—f4 m3
Peter Pickhart	Mennonist	over 16—f1	
George Werner	Mennonist	over— f1	under—f1
John Baker	Mennonist	over— f2	under—f3 m3
Abraham Beam			
Martin Lapp	Mennonist	over— f1	under—f1 m3
Jacob Miller, Senior	Mennonist	over— f2	
Jacob Miller, Junior	Mennonist	over— f1	under—f4 m2
Samuel Danner	Mennonist	over— f3 m2	under— m1
Magdalena Whisler	Mennonist	over— f1 m2	under—f4 m1
Abraham Lapp	Mennonist	over— f2 m2	
Herbert Lee	Mennonist	over— f1	under—f2 m3
Isaac Lapp	Mennonist	over— f1 m1	under— m3
George Blily	Mennonist	over— f1	under—f1 m3

Township of Willoughby—County of Lincoln

[13] Papers of Michael Gonder held in custody at the Museum and Archives, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.

[14] In this table "f" denotes female and "m" male.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES

Recent Tirolese Anabaptist Research

Eduard Widmoser, *Das Tiroler Täufertum* (I. Teil) in *Tiroler Heimat,* Bd. XV, 1951, Tyrolia-Verlag, Innsbruck-Wein

Franz Kolb, *Die Wiedertäufer im Wippal,* Nr. 74 in the "Schlern-Schriften," Innsbruck, 1951

Eduard Widmoser, "Das Täufertum im Tiroler Unterland," Univ. Diss., Innsbruck, 1948 (unpublished)

Karl Kuppelwieser, "Die Wiedertäufer im Eisacktal," Univ. Diss., Innsbruck, 1948 (unpublished)

Katharina Sinzinger, "Das Täufertum im Pustertal," Univ. Diss., Innsbruck, 1950 (unpublished)

The above monographs and dissertations represent part of a larger effort by Prof. Hans Kramer of the University of Innsbruck (Leopold-Franzens-Universität) to write a comprehensive new history of the Tirol. The last such undertaking was the 3-volume work of Egger, *Geschichte Tirols.* Kramer has enlisted the help of his students, and in addition to the four dissertations on Anabaptism, three others dealing with the general history of the Reformation epoch, but including lengthy chapters on Anabaptism, have been written as follows: (all unpublished) Paul Hoffmann, "Geschichte Tirols von 1523-26: Der Tiroler Bauernaufstand," Innsbruck, 1949

Fritz Steinegger, "Die Geschichte Tirols von 1527 bis 1539," Innsbruck, 1948

Franz Colleselli, "Geschichte Tirols zur Zeit Ferdinand I. von 1540 bis 1552," Innsbruck, 1949

The first article by Widmoser, "Das Tiroler Täufertum," is based primarily on the four local studies, including his own, prepared as dissertations. According to Widmoser, however, the entire undertaking rests on the pioneer work of Beck, Loserth, and Kripps, but is supplemented by a fresh study of Tirolese archival sources both published and unpublished. With the exception of the middle and upper Inn Valley and the Etsch Valley the Tirol has now been covered by local Anabaptist studies. With the general treatments given, Widmoser feels that these two areas will need no further special study. He still has, however, a second installment to publish next year in the *Tiroler Heimat* which will include the bibliography, biographical notes, and a directory of all the Tirolese Anabaptist names on record (about 2,000).

If these studies are to be the final authoritative work on Tirolese Anabaptism, they are a disappointment. With one exception, none of these scholars seems to have had access to the results of twentieth-century Anabaptist research outside his own area, nor to any contemporary Anabaptist group. Some of this is due to war and postwar conditions which had in part cut them off from outside contacts. Consequently they have relied heavily on the older standard historians who in turn had relied primarily on polemical Reformation writings and chronicles, and usually consider the movement as pathological. Fortunately, however, Widmoser's final treatment reveals additional documentation, the clue to which is to be found in the final statement in his introduction: "Diese Abhandlung soll endlich als Dank für das mildtätige Wirken des amerikanischen Mennoniten-Zentralkommitees in Wien gelten, das von den Nachfahren der

Täuferbewegung des 16. Jahrhunderts nach Österreich und Deutschland gesandt wurde, um die Not der Nachkriegszeit lindern zu helfen."

If on the one hand too little has therefore come out of these studies to reveal the real spiritual essence of Tirolese Anabaptism, they are valuable from another viewpoint. Coming out of a Catholic tradition as compared to the Protestant background of nearly all other writers in this field, these authors evaluate the movement, not in terms of Protestantism, which they place in the same category, but in the light of Catholicism. This of course is nothing new but it is new in contemporary scholarship, and in the light of the present crisis of the "christliche Abendland" it is significant. Thus Widmoser says (after however paying a real tribute to Anabaptist piety, achieved in a time of moral disintegration), "The Anabaptist movement represents the first revolt (actually Luther would have wanted to do it) against a spiritual-intellectual process *(geistesgeschichtlichen Vorgang)* in the history of Europe, whose way was prepared by the Renaissance and Humanism and later led to the Enlightenment, to Liberalism and Materialism and which expresses itself in a continuously increasing secularization" (translation mine). At another point he observes, "It [the movement] overlooked fully and entirely the organic-harmonious intergrowth of all social forms and religious expressions; it overlooked in a word, the tradition without which the life of a people cannot run its natural course. It knew no concept of home which is one of the main pillars of life without which no one can stand the storms of time. Anabaptism had no appreciation for the joys and beauties of life and permitted one to sink into the grey of daily life. It lacked the psychological comprehension of man who consists of flesh and blood." And incidentally this last was, second to the cruel persecution, the major reason why the movement could not strike permanent root among the happier Tirolese, according to Widmoser.

Here Widmoser has no doubt touched on the greatest trump card of Catholicism as over against Protestantism, and particularly against Anabaptism which emphasized basically the concept of the church as a "gathered group." This at best presupposes something of a rift in the body social, whereas Catholicism claims to build the whole of human existence and society into a harmonious whole. If then these studies have not yielded all that they should have by way of the essence of Austrian Anabaptism, in terms of external facts and the course of events these authors have made a real contribution. For example, contrary to the usual assumption that the movement gained its foothold first among the miners, they show that it was primarily the peasants, some of them with considerable land holdings, and the artisans, who accepted the new evangel. Furthermore it had nothing to do with the unrest instigated by Michael Gaismair after the collapse of the Peasants' Revolt. Indeed the testimony of the enemies of the Anabaptists points to their peaceableness. Finally, the compilation of the list of all known names (2,064), and the totaling of all proven executions (600), some without names, will be extremely valuable for subsequent research, even though the majority will not be of more than local interest. Widmoser's final installment is thus to be awaited with eagerness.

Zürich, Switzerland Paul Peachey

A Communication on the Origins of the Early Eighteenth Century Pennsylvania Mennonite Immigrants

To the Editor:

I have been following the articles on Bernese Anabaptism by Delbert Gratz in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* with more than passing interest, because it is a subject in which I have had a long standing interest. This interest will be readily understood when I tell you that I am a direct descendant of the Benedict Brechbuehl whom you mention on several occasions in your most recent article in the January (1952) issue of the MQR.

There is one statement which I believe is open to question and I would like to show why I raise the point at all. I refer to the opening paragraph of the subdivision "America" appearing on page 20 of the MQR, which states: "Of the various emigrations of *Bernese* Anabaptists during the eighteenth century, those going to America had as their goal the English colony of Pennsylvania which the Penns some years before (1681) had thrown open to immigrants, encouraging especially religious persecutees. The first family arrived in 1710, going directly to what is now Lancaster County."

As I read the above, it stated that the Mennonite families who settled in Lancaster County in 1710 were of Bernese origin. I don't believe this can be substantiated. In fact, I have been trying to do so for the last 18 years without any success whatsoever.

The fact that these first Mennonite immigrants to Lancaster County *were not* from Bern opens up a vista of Mennonite history which needs deeper investigation, something which I have been unable to do. Nevertheless, I would like to outline what I see to be the problem. In doing so, it is necessary to repeat some of the history which the author has touched on previously.

As you are aware, the two main centers of Anabaptist faith in what today is Switzerland were the rural areas of Bern and Zürich. It has been assumed that there was intercommunication between these two regions at the peasant level in the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, although I haven't seen the source material upon which this assumption is based.

I am more inclined to the belief that the line of communication was indirect; that the Anabaptists in Zürich were in touch with those in the Palatinate as were those in Bern, but that there was no direct communication between those in Bern and those in Zürich at least from the 17th century onward.

The geographical barriers between the two lands were responsible as well as the fact that the Catholic cantons of Luzerne and the forest cantons were between the two. Partial proof of this assumption of mine can be found in the fact that in the Peasant War of 1653, there does not appear to be any evidence that the farmer element of Zürich played any kind of sympathetic role on the side of the peasants of Bern.

It is also a remarkable fact that the center of the peasant agitation in Bern was the same locality in which we subsequently find the great increase in Anabaptism. This does not mean that Anabaptism was in any way the cause of the Peasant War, but it is true that the government and the state church in Bern were so closely identified that revolt against either one became a revolt against both. It helps explain the strong

measures the government felt it was necessary to take to stamp out Anabaptism; it was forced by its very nature to protect its clerical arm.

For all that has been written about the persecution of Anabaptists in Bern, that in Zürich was much more ruthless, and therefore more effective. Bern issued many mandates and decrees, but they were seldom really and completely enforced. Not so in Zürich; there the edicts were methodically and relentlessly effective. Unfortunately too little research has been made into this subject, particularly in the 17th century.

As far as I have been able to learn, all but a handful of Anabaptits had been driven out of Zürich by the middle of the 17th century and most of these exiles found new homes in the Palatinate. It is my belief that it was the descendants of these exiles which formed the most numerous element in the Mennonite settlements in Lancaster County and possibly in Montgomery County. Take the immigrants of 1710 for example. The family names of this group were as follows: Herr, Kendig, Meily, Graff, Miller, Bauman, Oberholtzer and Funk. Based on information I have received from Christian Lerch in Bern and from Zürich, I believe it can be stated without fear of contradiction that all of these immigrants of 1710 originated in Zürich and came to America via the Palatinate.

Take but one member as an example,—Hans Herr. I am not speaking of the so-called Bishop Hans Herr, of whose existence there exists no historical proof of any kind, but of the Hans Herr who arrived in 1710, participated in the original 10,000 acres purchased for Swiss Mennonites in Lancaster County, and died in 1756 at the age of 79 years. His name appears in the list of Palatines (Dutch list) who migrated to England from June 10 to 19 in 1709 and then was returned to Holland again as undesirable because he was a Mennonite. At that time "John Heer" had a wife and three children. His other children were born in Pennsylvania. I think diligent research will show that he and the other immigrants who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1710 were swept up in the wave of emigration from the Palatinate in 1709 that included persons of every faith.

The British Council of Trade papers give the reasons for immigration as economic resulting from the French wars. On April 28, the Council of Trade wrote Boyle (1708) as follows: "The poor Lutherans (the vanguard of these impoverished Palatines) are in the utmost want, not having at present anything to subsist themselves; they have been reduced to this miserable condition by the ravages committed by the French in the Lower Palatinate where they lost all they had."

It was suggested that this first group be sent to Jamaica, but it was reported the climate was too hot; the next suggestion was the Hudson River to produce naval stores. This early group was headed by the Rev. Joshua Kocherthal, a Lutheran minister. I mention it because among the members were the following: "Maria Wemars, widow and daughter; Isaac Feber, wife and son; Daniel Fiere, wife and two sons." At another point in the English records they are identified as: "Isaac Feber, wife Catherine, child, Abraham, two"; Daniel Fierre, wife, Anna Maria, children, Andreas, 7, and Johannes, 6; Maria Wemarin (Peter's widow) and daughter, Catharina, two." This was in 1708. Also in the group were Jacob Webber, "husbandman, Anna Elizabeth, his wife, and Eve Maria and Eve Elizabeth, their children."

All these persons actually accompanied Kocherthal's colony to the Hudson, and the parish records of this colony show that on shipboard Weber's

wife had a son "Johan Herman" and in 1710 a second one, Johan. Also in the same record in the Hudson colony, there was mention of Benedict and Christina Wenerich and Johan and Anna Maria Fridrich.

Thus beginning in 1708 and extending through 1710 we have the following persons associated with the Kocherthal colony in New York: Maria Wemar or Weimar, Isaac Feber, Daniel Fierre, Jacob Webber, Benedict Wenerich, Johann Fridrich. All of them appear again in Lancaster County in the decade between 1710 and 1720. I shall return to them again.

Ritter and Co. are mentioned by Dr. Gratz in connection with the attempted forced migration to America in 1710 of Bernese Anabaptists. On Feb. 28, 1706, Secretary Hedges of the Council of Trades and Plantations in London presented for the Council's consideration a letter from G. Ritter to the Queen, endorsed rec'd and read March 4, 1705/6. The letter follows: "Francois Louys Michel, citizen of Berne, having settled in Pennsylvania, has through the petitioner, citizen of the same town, persuaded a colony of 4 or 500 Swiss Protestants to go and settle on some uninhabited lands in Pennsylvania or on the frontier of Virginia . . . . Prays H.M. consent and protection and that they should be regarded as H.M. subjects, that they should be settled on some navigable river, that each colonist have about 100 acres, and the settlement be called Berne, that orders be given to H.M. governor to advance them seed corn for the first year, to be repaid in four years, that they have freedom to trade like H.M. other subjects, and exemption from taxes for 10 years, freedom to choose ministers of the Gospel and officers of justice and police under the direction of the governor; that after public prayers for H.M. they should be allowed to pray for the Republic of Berne, which is allied to H.M., that similar privileges be granted to all who hereafter come from Switzerland to increase that colony, and that they be transported with their effects from Rotterdam at H.M. expense."

Later in 1706, the Council reported that such a colony should be established on Jamaica, the Hudson, or the James River in Virginia. There was no objection to any of the conditions except the one granting exemption from taxes for 10 years. It was also suggested that before anything be done that an agent of the Swiss be sent to America to make the proper arrangements. Nothing further seems to have been done at this time, although it is known that Michel, the man referred to by Ritter, was in Pennsylvania at this period.

On June 28, 1709, another petition was presented to the Queen. It was read July 11 and came again from Georg Ritter, burgess of Berne, the sense of it being for permission for 4 to 500 Swiss Protestants to settle "with their own minister" upon the southwest branch of the Potomac River (the Shenandoah) near the settlement of Francois Louis Michel. Following this Michel and Christopher de Graffenried submitted supplementary petitions for the colony in Virginia with a map.

The Council recommended that the colony be established on July 25, 1709, to strengthen "the frontier of Virginia against the French of Canada and Mississippi." As a result Queen Anne on Sept. 10, 1709, issued the following order to the Governor of Virginia: "Whereas divers inhabitants of the Canton of Berne have made it their humble petition to us that they may be permitted to make a settlement on the frontiers of Virginia where they propose to establish a colony of about 5 or 600 persons at their own charge, our will and pleasure is that you upon their arrival, allot them lands on the southwest branch of the Potomac, etc."

Of course, the colony was subsequently diverted to Carolina for reasons which are not clear. But Michel appeared to have many strings to his bow, for while he was negotiating with the Queen for the privilege of settling in Virginia, he was also bargaining for thousands of acres of land with William Penn.

St. Saphorin, the envoy of Berne at The Hague in 1710, informed Lord Townshend, the English envoy at The Hague, that in addition to the lands in Carolina, Ritter and Co. also had the rights to 70,000 acres in Pennsylvania for the establishment of a colony under the "douce domination de la Reine" and that the prisoners would be settled in the section of America where their sect could be "best soufferte," i.e., Pennsylvania. He was urging Townshend to intervene with the Dutch to permit Ritter and Co. to take the prisoners through. William Penn also urged the same thing. Townshend, to his eternal credit, took the stand that the Queen of England did not want any involuntary subjects.

Where in Pennsylvania did Michel intend to settle the Swiss Anabaptists? Right where the emigrants of 1710 were settled. The warrant for their land was issued to Johan Rudoph Bondeli, a friend of Michel and like him a member of the burger class of the city of Berne. Bondeli resided for a time in Delaware, near New Castle. Another friend and business partner of Michel was John Rudoph Ochs of London who in 1717 went to Mannheim, Germany, and painted such a beautiful picture of the Valley of Virginia, that he set off the second migration to Pennsylvania of Swiss Mennonites from the Palatinate.

I think the most remarkable thing about this whole episode is that Benedict Brechbuehl is actually buried on some of the land included in the Michel-Bondeli grant of 1710. He came to America in 1717, after previously refusing to come unwillingly, and purchased 500 acres of the Bondeli land from Hans Funk, built a cabin in the wilderness and died there in 1720. Without a doubt, he was the first Elder ("Aelteste") in the wilderness.

Hans Funk, who came in 1710, left Lancaster County to live in the Valley of Virginia, which was first explored by Michel about 1704. Funk went to Virginia before 1736, being one of the first settlers in the Shenandoah Valley.

What happened to Michel? He is believed to have died in 1720 of a high fever among the Indians, but there appears to be no certainty on that. He was born of a burger family in Berne in July, 1675, made his first trip to America in 1700, traveling back to Berne three times. Earlier he had fought against the French in northern Italy and was an accomplished swordsman. He seemed to have known all classes of people, for at one time he was associated with Richard Clarke, a notorious counterfeiter of Maryland, and at another was on good terms with Wm. Penn. He was believed to have found a rich silver mine but when questioned about it said he was merely looking for a place to settle his countrymen. In one letter that has been preserved, he wrote his friend, Ochs, who had become an English Quaker, "How praiseworthy and easy would it be to send out a colony like other nations, which would be a greater glory and praise for our country than to send a large number for the sake of money to slaughter in battle."

Michel was in the thick of negotiations in March and April, 1710, in Holland to get the necessary permit for the company of which he was a partner to allow the Swiss prisoners to pass. Undoubtedly when those negotiations broke down he made some arrangements through his friend Ochs for the other Swiss Mennonites stranded in England to take their

places. If he did, then Michel as much as any individual succeeded beyond any dreams, for from this small beginning developed the most important Swiss Mennonite colony in America, whose far-reaching effects on America and the American way of life can never be calculated.

I live in hopes of someday learning more about the later years of Michel and the full role he played in the migration to America in 1710. Undoubtedly it was his material which Ochs used in his book, for there is no evidence that Ochs ever set foot on American soil.

The Bondeli warrant of 1710 encompassed 10,000 acres. It was divided as follows:

Martin Kendig, 1000 acres, 250 acres, 500 acres	1,750
Hans Herr	500
Hans Funk	500
Wendel Bauman	500
Christian Heer	500
Jacob Miller	1,000
Christopher Franciscus	500
Martin Meily	250
	5,500
John Rudoph Bondeli	500
Hans Graff	1,000
Michael Oberholtzer (?)	1,000
Martin Kendig	2,000
	10,000

I mentioned previously the names of some of the Kocherthal immigrants who subsequently turned up in Lancaster County. In 1712 Martin Kendig appeared in Philadelphia before the Land Commissioners and said the 2,000 acres assigned to him really was for the Widow Wemar and the patent was issued to her sons (?) Daniel Fierre and Isaac Lefever. The Graff land was sold to Abraham Dubois, also of the Hudson, the father-in-law of another of the Fierres, Philip. The Oberholtzer land was sold to a Harman Ritzman of New Jersey, who in turn sold it to Hans Herr, previously mentioned.

Bondeli's 500 acres passed into the hands of Hans Webber and Ulrich Houser. Hans was a brother of Jacob Webber, who settled at Weaverland, an early Mennonite settlement. The parish records in New York tell us that Webber left that section to join his countrymen in Pennsylvania.

So far I have not given you a single name of an Anabaptist from Berne. It wasn't until 1717 that we find any and then very few who can be traced directly back to Switzerland.

Sincerely yours,
Martin H. Brackbill
702 4th St., New Cumberland, Pa.

BOOK REVIEWS

Serving Rural Puerto Rico: A History of Eight Years of Service by the Mennonite Church. By Justus G. Holsinger. Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1952. Pp. 232. $2.75.

This is the historical record of the first eight years of Mennonite work in Puerto Rico. It is recent history, covering the years of 1943 to 1951, but the author was there both at the beginning of the work and in 1951 was the general director of the La Plata Mennonite Project, Inc. He therefore speaks with firsthand information and with free access to the record. The author writes with a historical perspective in spite of his nearness to the work, having been trained in history, both in having a Master of Arts degree in political science and having taught history at Bluffton College.

The book contains an amazing amount of factual material, yet is quite readable. It traces the many-sided rapid progress from the beginnings when two Civilian Public Service boys, including the author, arrived at La Plata until the present when 146 continental workers have worked at the varied phases of reconstruction, relief, and evangelistic work against a background of foreign culture and language, problems of relationships with governments, shifts in administrative control, and a personnel turnover averaging nearly a score of raw recruits per year. That under such handicaps there can be a steady purpose and an effective witness is amply shown by the record. Like a growing organism, one finds a constant adaptation to needs. Then in retrospect, one sees design where there has been no long-range plan, nor devised strategy.

This is traditional Anabaptism at work. The effusion of sincere and spontaneous good will prepares the way for a witness that ministers to every aspect of life. "A unified program of education, coupled with the Christian philosophy of life, touching every phase of life, seems to be the only answer to Puerto Rico's problems. Thus the Brethren, Friends, and Mennonites entered Puerto Rico with service programs designed to minister to the social, physical, spiritual, and mental needs of the rural people."

Therefore one finds them with hammer and saw setting up a hospital, then manning the medical work. One goes with the men on their sanitation surveys and privy installations; with the medical social worker to the tubercular's bedside; with the dietitian as she shows by raising rats what good food will do; with the teacher into the schoolroom; the recreational director onto the playground; with the dentist into the schoolroom and in his office. One finds a community paper, youth summer camps, summer Bible schools, crafts and sewing projects, demonstration agriculture, introduction of breeding stock, soil conservation, new crops. There is even a mortuary service and a lens-grinding establishment.

The message they would give must be explained. So there is evangelistic work. Five churches are established and a radio ministry that reaches a goodly section of Latin America becomes a reality.

The personnel, young men and women, are largely short-term volunteers. Some may not grasp the significance of their contribution to the total program as they work in the laundry, the kitchen, or the garage. They write of their experiences in the monthly newssheet that goes to their friends, and from these writings we learn of their reactions, their petty problems, their purposes.

These personal encounters may seem like trivia, but it is grass-roots history. These are the reactions of farm boys and farm girls from Ohio,

Indiana, and Kansas telling us how they react to insects and poverty as they live—at first at least—quite on a level with the natives. They experience, not only see, poverty. And they write of their idealism and helplessness as they plow this ocean of poverty. They contribute their meager loaves and fishes, and seem as surprised as we that the multitudes were eating more than they had given.

Here then is the record of God's blessing of a work carried out by young people, reasonably trained as agriculturists, dietitian, dentist, surgeons, laboratory technicians, sanitation engineers, cooks, carpenters, funeral director, evangelists, nurses, but mostly just Christian young people who are willing to do their little bit. The book is a record of how well the work got started. The future of the work will depend on how many are challenged by the record to build on the foundation.

The author has done an excellent job of sorting representative material that does justice to all phases of the program. The sixty-six photographs, many of them full-page, are well selected both to portray the problems of the island in general and to illustrate the work done at La Plata. The photographs are unusually clear, being reproduced on glossy paper. The printing, although clear, suffers a bit in readability because of being on glossy paper. The work could well be illustrated by more detailed maps for the many who are not acquainted with the geography of Puerto Rico. There are few minor inaccuracies, such as referring in various places to the superintendent of the hospital when the superintendent of nurses is meant. The appendices contain a complete list of personnel, a yearly medical report, and a summary financial statement which add to the value of the record. Unfortunately there is no index.

The sponsors are to be congratulated in having compiled this history so early before many of the details are lost, and in having selected one so well qualified to do the task clearly and accurately.

Goshen College H. Clair Amstutz

Rufus Jones, Master Quaker. By David Hinshaw. New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1951. Pp. 306. $4.50.

To muse with this Quaker author and to listen as he so ably narrates the life story of his beloved teacher and friend is a joy, a thrill, and an inspiration. Hinshaw is the author of nine books, three of them biography. He is probably best known for his books on William Allen White and Herbert Hoover. He studied under Rufus Jones at Haverford and there began a lifelong friendship between them. This is the first "full-length, authorized biography of the great Quaker leader," and is written by a friend and associate, who unhesitatingly has Rufus Jones, "as the reuniter of Quaker groups and the inspiration of the new Quaker purpose—occupy a place with George Fox, the founder of the movement, and William Penn, its statesman, to form Quakerism's great triumvirate." The winsome, wholesome, lifelong goodness of Rufus Jones deeply impressed the author, and he delights to dwell upon the many facets of it, in his friend's long, active, influential, and productive life. Such fruitful formation in Rufus Jones came, he demonstrates, from godly Quaker parentage and heritage; from the quiet environment of God's nature at its best in the South China, Maine, birthplace community; from a home life where love, hospitality, the interests of the Meeting, and the world as brought in through the eyes of the itinerant Friends ministers, were dominant; and from a life commitment after winning his "first great spiritual victory" when in youth and at a South China revival he stood and said, "I want to be a Christian."

Rufus Jones died in 1948, at the age of 85, in Haverford, Pennsylvania. He taught philosophy and psychology at Haverford Friends College from 1893 to 1934 (41 years). He wrote 56 books, was editor of the *American Friend* and its predecessor for 19 years, lectured one or more times at 106 colleges and universities, led in founding the American Friends Service Committee in 1917 and served as its Chairman or Honorary Chairman until he died, led during his generation in reuniting America's divided Quakerism and setting it on the path again of what he felt was its beginning and divine genius, and as interpreter, writer, and exponent of mystical religion, brought it into the stream of religious thinking in the English-speaking world. Of his many noble and admirable qualities, his "impenitent optimism," his constant radiance and enthusiasm, his warmth, graciousness, direct simplicity in speech and living, his humanity and world perspective, impressed his biographer most. These qualities stand out likewise in the reviewer's remembrance of him.

"A most interesting feature of this biography is the history of the Quaker movement, which emerges as the author relates Rufus Jones to the Society of Friends." The author's thesis plainly is that by 1756, when the Philadelphia yearly meeting advised its members to withdraw from public office, most of the earlier crusading zeal of the movement had been lost; that the century that followed "was the darkest one in Quaker history"; and that "had it not been for the leadership that Rufus Jones and others later provided, the year 1950 might have found little in Quakerism that was admirable." The author notes that as Quakerism's founder Fox recaught the Reformation concept "of direct relationship between every individual and his Maker, as well as to the spiritual equality of all men," so Rufus Jones recaptured this idea and found it confirmed in his Quaker forebears, Whittier and Woolman, reclarified it from his own researches and writings on Mysticism and gave the genius, life, and direction and purposeful goal in a re-uniting Quakerism, through the wider Quaker fellowship, the American Friends Service Committee, and multitudinous other ways. In this analysis of Rufus Jones' calling and commitment and time of living, Hinshaw depicts him as moving above sect and division, completely convinced of the solvent of love, the symbol of ecumenicity in action, and thus profoundly affecting the whole Christian movement, and particularly its school and intellectual circles. The author, as convinced and birthright Quaker, shares fully Quakerism's mission to society and world which Jones to him symbolizes, hence one can understand his seeming lack of seeing any serious defect in the theology or philosophy of his subject friend.

It remains to note with deep appreciation what Rufus Jones and the Friends have contributed and meant to the Mennonites during World War I and since 1917. War sufferers' relief and rehabilitation concepts, a conscientious civilian service offered in lieu of a drafted military-connected service, a positive, creative, peace-making love in action—going beyond only the negative in nonresistance, a new sensitiveness to the migrant, the refugee, the prisoner and the socially and economically oppressed, as developed and in development among us, owe time and time again their first stirrings or patterns to Jones and Quaker pioneering ahead of us.

The reviewer in his own infrequent contacts with Jones too sensed in him a great, a good, and a serene person and a friend of all mankind. He therefore commends this volume to all who would know him and the Society out of which he arose.

Akron, Pa. Orie O. Miller

High Bright Buggy Wheels. By Luella Creighton. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1952. Pp. 342. $3.00.

Here is another version of Mennonite Tillie. While Helen R. Martin's *Tillie the Mennonite Maid* (1904) was deliberate ridicule, this one suffers from careless handling of the cultural materials.

Martin said of herself, "I looked at the Dutch people from the outside. . . . I saw them too much from the outside." She recognized in her treatment of the Mennonites "that tang of ridicule from which I could not escape." Of Mennonites, she says, "they are illiterate, they rationalize, they take things literally. A Mennonite will not sue at law but will get someone to sue for him; he thinks it a sin to smoke, but will sell tobacco; a Mennonite will become wealthy keeping a jewelry store although he does not approve of wearing jewelry."

The present volume does not come to us in the same harsh vein. Nor is it the antithesis of idolizing the Mennonites as lovely, gentle, harmless country dwellers living a kind of fictitious existence with qualities to be found only in another world.

Protestant sects and also monastic orders are the substance of many interesting plots and insights for the novelist. The accumulated tension between godliness and worldliness, between psychological wants and social barriers epitomized in Tillie, produces a type of conflict and piety frequently found among members of a sectarian society.

Tillie is the daughter of Levi Schantz, a prosperous farmer and staunch church member in a Canadian setting. She is betrothed to Simon, a member of the faith, but almost unknowingly finds herself in love with George, an "English" drugstore clerk. She is torn between "worldly" attractions—storybooks, piano lessons, attendance at horse races, dancing—and her loyalty to kin and church. Finally she is made happy by her marriage to George, and by leaving the Mennonite way.

From the time George saw the gleam in Tillie's eye at the camp meeting, there is an admixture of pietistic revivalism and shouting in the story entirely foreign to traditional Mennonite piety. The use of a piano in worship service, Levi's long beard, Simon attending a theological seminary, even the manner of courting and kissing are a few of the settings out of context with Mennonite thought and practice.

The cover design would shock any Dutchman who intuitively knows that the driver's seat in the buggy is always on the right. Mennonites, like other people, drove the horse and buggy during the last century but hardly ever today.

The book is entertaining, but Tillie is artificial. The author imposes on this innocent Mennonite character the restless inability to make decisions which is so characteristic in our mass culture. The result is a tasteless character, with little future as a participant in the essentials of a culture. Throughout the book Tillie remains a doubtful, noncommanding character. She does not speak her own thoughts and lacks the dynamic, genuine, lively and sprightly girlishness found in the real Mennonite community. But through it all, Tillie's father Levi is a congenial character, not the erratic impetuous ruler of the patriarchal household.

Pennsylvania State College John A. Hostetler

Das Schleitheimer Täuferbekenntnis 1527. By Beatrice Jenny. Thayngen: Karl Augustin, 1951. 81 pp. 2.60 Sw. fr.

The Schleitheim Confession of 1527 has long been considered a major source for the study of the beliefs of the early Swiss Brethren as well as an evidence of the early emergence of a common but distinct mind on basic tenets among their scattered and loosely connected communities. While these articles enjoyed a wide circulation in the sixteenth century, including in addition to the German versions at least two editions in Dutch, as well as translations (by opponents) into Latin and French, in modern times it has been available in unabridged forms only in the edition published by Walther Köhler in 1908 in the series, *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation,* in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte* series in 1910 (reprint 1933) edited by H. Böhmer under the title *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges und der Wiedertäufer* (strangely not mentioned in Jenny's text, as is also not noted the 16th century French edition referred to by Böhmer in his introduction) and in John C. Wenger's English translation published in the *MQR* in 1945. Slightly abbreviated, these articles had, however, appeared in various historical works, notably those of Müller, Beck and Geiser. Beatrice Jenny has thus rendered a real service in preparing this new edition.

Miss Jenny publishes in full for the first time the text of the handwritten copy contained in the famous Volume 80 of "Unnütze Papiere" in the state archives in Bern. There are actually three versions, i.e., dialects, among the extant German copies of the Confession. The copy in the Pressburg archives used by Beck in his *Geschichtsbücher der Wiedertaufer* is Moravian, that published by Köhler, Middle German, while the Bernese text is Alemannic. The present edition is supplemented, where the Bernese MS is incomplete, by the rendering of the Köhler edition, while differences in Zwingli's Latin translation are pointed out in the footnotes.

The value of this work, however, lies not only in its careful rendering of the text. In a historical and then a systematic section, Miss Jenny deals with questions of authorship, purpose, etc., as well as with the theological significance of the Confession itself. She finds that most writers have too readily accepted the thesis that Michael Sattler is the author of the seven articles, though a careful comparison of his views as set forth elsewhere with assertions of Bucer and Capito about him furnishes additional support to that view. Further, contrary to the traditional views that the "false brethren" against whom the Confession takes position are the spiritualizers as Hetzer, or others who apparently had yielded on such points as the swearing of oaths, they are here interpreted to be the libertines of St. Gall and Appenzell who had engaged in licentiousness. This is quite possible, particularly if the specific use of the term "Schwestern" in the Confession has the significance here ascribed to it. Nevertheless, to the knowledge of the present reviewer, the conditions to which Miss Jenny refers have not yet been thoroughly enough studied to justify any final conclusion at this point. More interesting is her conclusion that the Bernese manuscript is actually the one used by Zwingli to make his Latin translation, which makes this document the oldest extant copy of the Schleitheim Confession.

In her theological evaluation the author finds that though these articles cannot be compared, as to either intent or to scope, with the great confessions of the Reformation such as the Augustana or Zwingli's *Fidei ratio,* a striking distinction as to the central concerns is at once evident. While the latter are primarily concerned with the articulation of sound dogma,

the *fides orthodoxa,* the Schleitheim statement lays the emphasis on sound conduct. Thus the great central doctrines as the Trinity or justification by faith are not even discussed, though they are constantly presupposed, naturally with distinctive interpretation. The real question was, How can the pure church and true discipleship be realized?

The strong emphasis on discipleship may, however, have led to some faulty exegesis. For example, Miss Jenny rightly challenges their use of Christ's refusal to be made king (John 6:15) as a basis for their attitude on the magistracy. Perhaps preoccupation with literal precedents in the life of Christ may have prevented a more thorough elucidation of their position in terms of actual Scriptural teaching elsewhere. But they were not alone in this kind of interpretation, and Miss Jenny in her fair and objective approach finds strained exegesis among the opponents as well. And usually the Schleitheim position was valid even when some of the exegesis used to support it was open to question.

Finally, however, Miss Jenny questions seriously the narrow legalism which she feels characterizes the whole Schleitheim position. This comes most clearly to the fore in Article 4 which sees the whole moral realm in sharply defined contrasts between good and evil, light and darkness. Here she feels love is jeopardized, the Sermon on the Mount tends to become a new law, enforced by a threateningly strict church discipline, and the necessary cultural responsibilities of human society are evaded. But here again she gives credit to the genuineness of the Anabaptist concern, and ascribes to it a positive value even for the "Volkskirche" position, always facing the other danger of easy compromise. And she finds a review of the Schleitheim position particularly valuable at a time when the other can no longer be accepted as a foregone conclusion. Though those standing in the Anabaptist tradition will feel at this point that more can be said for their position, they should nevertheless be the first to express appreciation for both the thoroughness and sympathetic fairness with which Beatrice Jenny has treated her subject.

Zürich Paul Peachey

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This is a special number devoted exclusively to Anabaptist-Mennonite history and dedicated to the Fifth Mennonite World Conference which convened in Basel August 10-15, 1952. The table of contents is as follows: Zollikon 1525. Die Entstehung der ältesten Täufergemeinde. Von *Fritz Blanke,* Zürich; Die Zwickauer Propheten, Thomas Müntzer und die Täufer. Von *Harold S. Bender,* Goshen, Indiana, USA; Mennonitentum und Pietismus. Ein Versuch. Von *Ernst Crous,* Göttingen; Die Beschlagnahme und Verwaltung des Täufergutes durch den Fiskus im Herzogtum Württemberg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Von *Eberhard Teufel,* Stuttgart-Fellbach; Rezensionen: Hans Joachim Schoeps, Vom himmlischen Fleisch Christi (*Gottfried W. Locher,* Feuerthalen/Kt. Zurich), Beatrice Jenny, Das Schleitheimer Tauferbekenntnis 1527 (*Arthur Rich,* Schaffhausen); Miszellen: Eine unbekannte Schrift Vadians gegen die Täufer (*Conradin Bonorand,* Susch/Kt. Graubünden), Zu Ludwig Hätzers theologischer Entwicklung (*Gerhard Goeters,* Wickrathberg bei Rheydt/Rheinland); Grusz an die Fünfte Mennonitische Weltkonferenz.

The first two articles are reprinted in English translation in the current January 1953 Review.

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